

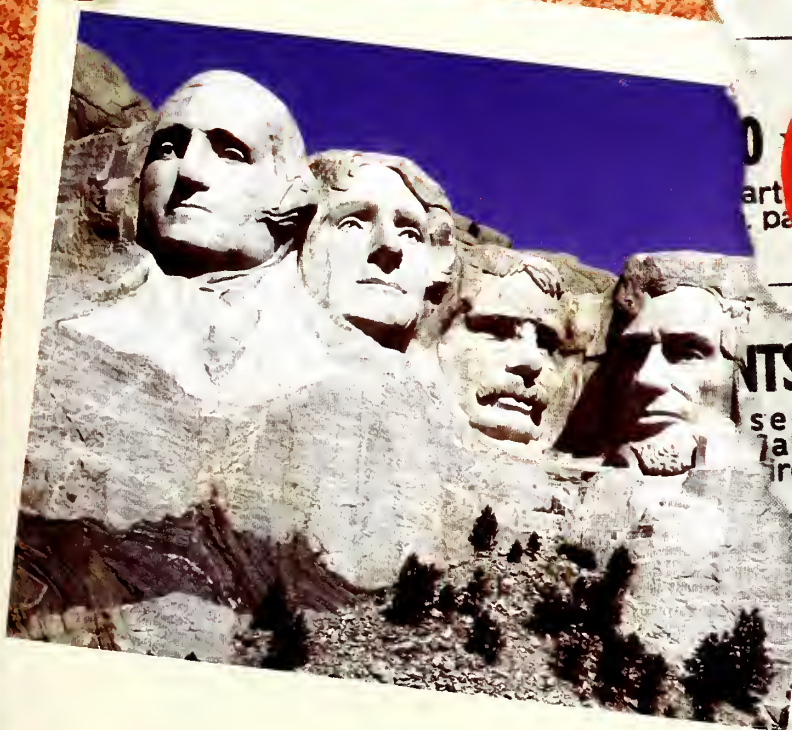
I320.9
ILLI
v.36: no.5
2010: May
c. 3

May 2010 \$5.00

Illinois Issues

A publication of the University of Illinois Springfield

Wanted: Leadership



ager An
y is seeking
Manager to
ave good
e market,
s, good
nglish.
7 2207.

0 ★
art of
paid

NTS
seek
ales
irect

ive
in
les
es

gram
pment

es,
m

Busy Midwestern state in search of long-term commitment.

Illinois: Vibrant and
exciting with a lot
to offer. Racially
diverse. Challenging
but worth it!

You: Honest, wise,
loyal, inspiring and
enthusiastic. Able to
thrive under adverse
situations. Fiscally
responsible and
trustworthy.

Reply to box 1818-21

targets
work
enthu
resu
exp
busi
esc
pro
pack
main
gene
80-10

Exe

Golden

- Hungry
- Determined
- income

We are
willing
for your
sales re-
We offer
commissi-
Your e-
commis-
Fax you



For updates between issues, count on the award-winning

Illinois Issues Online

<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>



- Improved readability
- Easier site navigation
- Audio and video clips
- Links to in-depth background
- Color slideshows
- Comment board
- Educators section

Blog

<http://illinoisissuesblog.blogspot.com>

- Major Breaking News Between Issues
- Behind-the-Scenes Analysis
- Reader Comment as the News Happens
- Follow *Illinois Issues* on Twitter!



☒ **YES!** I want to subscribe to *Illinois Issues*

Save the hassle of renewing annually AND save money with a multi-year subscription!!

Please check one:

- ☐ Three years – 30 issues - \$105 **OR** ☐ One year – 10 issues - \$39.95
OR
☐ Two years – 20 issues - \$72

Name _____
Business/Organization _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Daytime Phone _____
E-mail _____

- ☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later
☐ Payment enclosed with check payable to University of Illinois
To order by credit card call the *Illinois Issues* office at (217) 206-6084.
For faster service, call **1-800-508-0266**.
Visit *Illinois Issues* on the web at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

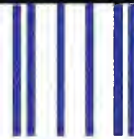
Included with your subscription, one copy of the most useful Illinois directory published.



2010 Roster of State Government Officials

This popular directory lists the names, addresses and phone numbers of elected and appointed officials in all three branches of government.
To order more copies of the Roster see <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu/roster/roster.html>





NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 1901 SPRINGFIELD, IL

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

Illinois Issues

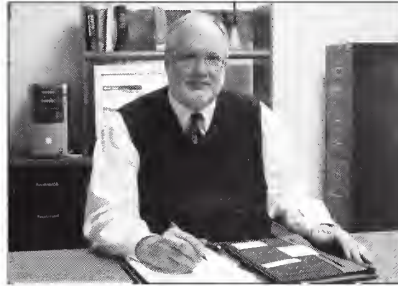
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD

PO Box 19243

Springfield, IL 62794-9980



Dana Heupel



Authors argue time has come for public subsidization of journalism

by Dana Heupel

The framers of the U.S. Constitution understood that for their experiment in self-government to succeed, citizens of the new nation must be armed with information, so they can make decisions about where it is headed. That's why the First Amendment protects freedom of the press.

That concept was a keystone for the first two centuries of the nation's existence. But in recent years, as the economy falters, advertising revenues dwindle and those news outlets that haven't shuttered their doors spend less time reporting on government, many — including me — worry that the once fierce media watchdogs are evolving into docile house pets, focusing on the trivial and leaving the democracy unguarded.

There may yet be hope, say the authors of *The Death and Life of American Journalism*, published earlier this year by Nation Books.

Robert McChesney, a communications professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and John Nichols, Washington correspondent for *The Nation*, argue that

because responsible journalism is so vital to America's well-being, the government should dedicate public resources to support it.

"It's time to recognize that all the evidence available to us at this point leads inexorably to one conclusion: Having anything remotely close to a satisfactory level of journalism will require a large public subsidy," they write. "We know this is an unsettling notion for some, especially for journalists who have been taught to fear the heavy hand of government. But media subsidies and government intervention have taken many forms along the arc of the American experiment. And they can again. Indeed, they must."

In the first century of America's history, before advertising became the primary financial support for news media, "the United States subsidized our newspapers and magazines to an extent very few Americans fully appreciate," McChesney said during a recent telephone interview. "The most important of them were postal subsidies, which made the cost of mailing a newspaper or magazine just a small

fraction of the cost of sending a letter of the same weight. And also printing subsidies, where the government actually paid printers to do all their government jobs, with [a] 40 percent additional payment above and beyond the actual cost."

He believes that "the success of advertising as a commercial model, making journalism commercially lucrative for the last century, has given Americans a misunderstanding of how journalism should be thought of. Journalism should be regarded as a public good, not as a private good. ... It is a crucial, necessary and important social undertaking that the market does not have the ability to produce in sufficient quality or quantity. National defense, public education, transportation infrastructure, these are all classic public goods. If left to the market, they just don't exist. There's no incentive for producers or consumers to participate to make it happen. And we think journalism should be understood that way."

The authors suggest short- and long-term solutions to what they see as "the

ADVISORY BOARD

CHAIR

Lawrence N. Hansen, vice president, Joyce Foundation, Chicago.

VICE CHAIR

Mike Lawrence, retired director, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

MEMBERS

MarySue Barrett, president, Metropolitan Planning Council, Chicago.

Robert J. Christie, vice president, government relations, Northwestern Memorial Hospital, Chicago.

Darcy Davidsmeyer, director, state government relations, Motorola Inc., Schaumburg.

Kathleen Dunn, vice president, government relations, Illinois Hospital Association, Springfield.

Jim Edgar, senior fellow, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

Sharon Gist Gilliam, chairperson, Chicago Housing Authority.

Doris B. Holleb, professorial lecturer, University of Chicago.

Joan W. Levy, education consultant, Northbrook.

Jeff Mays, president, Illinois Business Roundtable, Chicago.

Abner J. Mikva, visiting professor of law, University of Chicago.

Laurence J. Msall, president, The Civic Federation, Chicago.

Diana Nelson, consultant, Chicago.

Dawn Clark Netsch, professor of law emeritus,

Northwestern University School of Law, Chicago.

Aurie Pennick, executive director, Field Foundation of Illinois, Chicago.

Taylor Pensoneau, author and former president of the board of directors, Illinois Center for the Book, Springfield.

Sylvia Paeute, executive director, Latino Policy Forum.

Philip J. Rock, attorney, Roek, Fusco & Associates, LLC, Chicago.

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, vice president, community and education relations, Boeing Corp., Chicago.

Touy Ryder, attorney, W. Thomas Ryder, LTD, Springfield.

Charles W. Scholz, attorney, Quincy.

Paula Wolff, senior executive, Chicago Metropolitan 2020.

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

Anthony P. Halter, executive director, Center for State Policy and Leadership, University of Illinois Springfield.

Robert F. Rich, director and professor, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

FOUNDING MEMBER

Samuel K. Gove, professor emeritus of political science, University of Illinois.

MEMBERS EMERITUS

(years served on board in parentheses)

Michael J. Bakalis (1983-2001), James M. Banovetz (1986-2005), James L. Fletcher (1983-2000), David Kenney (1978-90), Louis H. Masotti (1978-92), James T. Otis (1975-94), David J. Paulus (1988-94), Carl Sliet (1978-87).

collapse of American journalism."

In the near future, the government should increase tenfold the amount of taxpayer funds that go to community and university public access radio and television outlets. Even at that level, the expense would be only about half of what Canada, for instance, spends per capita, they say. To ensure that young journalists stay involved in the craft, they propose a national program similar to AmeriCorps that could provide stipends for them to cover their communities for various nonprofit media. And they believe postal rates should be dramatically lowered for all publications with less than 20 percent advertising. Those actions "would help us buy time for another five to 10 years," McChesney says.

Long-term solutions should embrace the Internet, McChesney says, without setting up pay walls that restrict rather than promote access to news. One method might be to allow every American to donate, say, \$200 of government money to the nonprofit news medium of his or her choice.

If a venture of that sort "proved wildly popular," with about half of the citizens participating, the authors write, the annual cost of those and other options could approach \$30 billion. While that's not an insignificant amount, they say it is about the same as the postal and printing subsidies in the nation's early days, when viewed today as a percentage of the gross domestic product.

Much of the money to help subsidize nonprofit, competing news outlets, McChesney and Nichols write, could come from taxes on such areas as the broadcast spectrum, which commercial television and radio stations now use for free; consumer electronics, in which consumers who purchase the devices would pay to create nonprofit content for them; and Internet service providers and cell phones.

The authors do acknowledge concerns about potential government control over news content but point to other democracies that subsidize

news media and still maintain a free and vigorous press.

"Almost without exception," McChesney said in a C-SPAN broadcast of a panel discussion at the National Press Club, "every other major industrial democracy in the world — in east Asia and in Europe and north of us in Canada — devotes a much larger national government sum subsidizing public and community media and journalism." Among the most heavily subsidized, he says, are Denmark, Sweden, Britain, Germany, Norway and Japan. Not coincidentally, he believes, those six nations also are cited as among those with the least amount of press censorship by Freedom House, an independent organization that advocates for democracy and human rights around the world.

McChesney and Nichols acknowledge they don't have all the answers. "We're not here to prescribe what we think proper journalism is or isn't. We think that's something for journalists and citizens to work out in time," McChesney says. But he believes it is time to begin an urgent discussion because "journalism is in free-fall collapse."

As for those who say government subsidies for news media would amount to another unnecessary federal intrusion into the marketplace, McChesney counters: "It grows out of the founders' understanding of democracy and how it works. It's one that we argue strongly in the book is of value to people who believe in free-market economics, to people who believe in labor unions, to people who believe in socialism, to people who believe in corporations — any of them can buy into this. This is not an argument that is predicated on a certain vision of how our economy should be structured. It's chapter and verse right out of Jefferson and Madison and the Supreme Court. ..."

"The only ideology is the notion of self-government and the Constitution," McChesney says. "It's an investment in democracy."

Dana Heupel can be reached at heupel.dana@uis.edu.

Illinois Issues

A publication of the University of Illinois Springfield

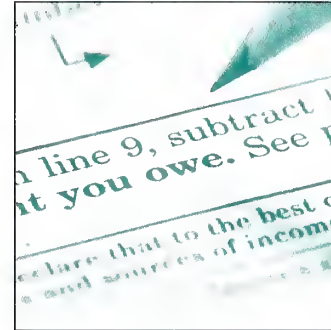
May 2010



Empty desks, page 25



Illinoisans who have led, page 16



On taxation, page 28

FEATURES

16 Wanted: Leadership

A true leader has the courage to do what's best for society in the long term.

by Burt Constable

16 Photo essay Illinoisans who have led

by the Editors

22 Q&A

Stanley Ikenberry

by Kate Clements Cohorst

25 Empty desks

Gov. Pat Quinn estimates about 17,000 teachers and staff in elementary and high schools will be laid off if legislators do not approve a tax increase.

by Jamey Dunn

28 On taxation

Taxing services: An old idea re-emerges in the face of economic peril.

by Rachel Wells

Taxing districts: Illinois has more than any other state. by Rachel Wells

DEPARTMENTS

3 EDITOR'S NOTE

Subsidize journalism, authors say.
by Dana Heupel

6 STATE OF THE STATE

School choice not just a GOP idea
by Jamey Dunn

8 BRIEFLY

34 PEOPLE

36 LETTERS

37 ENDS AND MEANS

Federal school funds may be lost.
by Charles N. Wheeler III

STAFF

Director/Executive Editor, Center Publications
Dana Heupel

EDITORIAL

Statehouse Bureau Chief: Jamey Dunn
Managing Editor: Maureen Foertsch McKinney
Projects Editor: Beverley Scobell
Columnist: Charles N. Wheeler III
Research Assistant: Melissa Weissert
Editorial Assistant: Debi Edmund
Center for State Policy and Leadership Intern:
Nicole Harbour
Public Affairs Reporting Intern: Rachel Wells

BUSINESS

Business Manager: Toni L. Langdon
Marketing & Circulation Director: Linda Anderson
Circulation Fulfillment Assistant: William J. House II
Student Assistant: Tara Aeschliman

*Illinois Issues is published by Center Publications
Center for State Policy and Leadership*
<http://cspl.uis.edu>

Editorial and business office: HRB 10, University of Illinois Springfield, One University Plaza, Springfield, IL 62703-5407.
Telephone: 217-206-6084. Fax: 217-206-7257. E-mail: illinoisissues@uis.edu. E-mail editor: heupel.dana@uis.edu.

Subscription questions: Illinois Issues, Subscription Division, P.O. Box 2795, Springfield, IL 62708-2795 or call 1-800-508-0266. Hours are 8:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Central Time, Monday-Friday (except holidays). *Subscriptions:* \$39.95 one year/ \$72 two years/ \$105 three years; student rate is \$20 a year. Individual copy is \$5. Back issue is \$5. Illinois Issues is indexed in the PAIS Bulletin and is available electronically on our home page: <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>. Illinois Issues (ISSN 0738-9663) is published monthly, except July and August are combined. December is published online only. Periodical postage paid at Springfield, IL, and additional mailing offices.

Postmaster: Send address changes to Illinois Issues, Subscription Division, P.O. Box 19243, Springfield, IL 62794-9243.

©2010 by Illinois Issues, University of Illinois Springfield, One University Plaza, Springfield, IL 62703-5407. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without prior written permission is prohibited. Illinois Issues is published by the University of Illinois Springfield. In addition to university support and subscription income, the magazine is supported by grants and donations. The contents of the magazine do not necessarily reflect the views of the university or the donors.

Jamey Dunn



School choice no longer just a GOP idea

by Jamey Dunn

Faced with \$1.3 billion in proposed cuts to education in Gov. Pat Quinn's budget, along with looming layoffs of thousands of teachers and the chronic failure of some schools to meet No Child Left Behind standards, lawmakers are pushing several education proposals that emphasize "choice" for both schools and students.

Proposals such as allowing schools to opt out of education mandates passed by the General Assembly or giving students at failing public schools the chance to transfer to private institutions have typically been Republican issues, but some Democrats are backing them this legislative session.

Unfunded mandates — requirements placed on schools by the state without funding to pay for them — have been the target of scorn for many legislators session after session. Former teacher and school board member Rep. Suzanne Bassi, a Palatine Republican, is known for reading off a long list of unfunded mandates during House Education Committee hearings to emphasize the fiscal pressures that legislation passed in Springfield puts on schools.

Nearly 100 schools have appealed to the legislature to let them lower the amount of time they have to offer physical education or behind-the-wheel training for driver's education. With schools facing massive layoffs, bills addressing such mandates are gaining traction.

Unfunded mandates — requirements placed on schools by the state without funding to pay for them — have been the target of scorn for many legislators session after session.

Senate Bill 3000 This measure, sponsored by Lake Forest Democratic Sen. Susan Garrett, would put a moratorium on new instructional mandates, which require schools to teach certain topics. It would also create a task force to analyze mandates, including looking into how much money is needed to institute them, an area where little hard data exists and which is often a point of contention for schools. The moratorium would end a year after the task force presents its findings to the General Assembly. The four legislative leaders, the governor and the state schools superintendent would appoint members, and the task force would include administrators from different areas of the state.

House Joint Resolution 74 In anticipation of this resolution passing, the State Board of Education has created a panel to consider which mandates could be waived and make recommendations to

the legislature. Matt Vanover, a spokesman for the state board, says the committee got a jump on its work so it can meet the resolution's May 1 deadline. The panel has reached out to administrators, and Vanover says it has received more than 100 suggestions regarding mandates that could possibly be eliminated. He added that the panel is advisory, and legislation would be required to make changes to mandates.

House Bill 4711 Schools would not have to comply with new unfunded mandates under this bill, which passed in the House. If the money the state gives a district is not enough to implement a mandate, the district can modify the requirements so it can afford to put it into effect. The local school board would have to vote on dropping or modifying any mandates. The bill has exemptions for special education, requirements for high school graduation, physical education, bilingual education and hiring and tenure practices. It also would exempt programs that receive federal dollars, including those associated with the stimulus plan or the Race to the Top program. Rep. Roger Eddy, a Republican from Hutsonville, and Chicago Democratic Sen. Edward Maloney sponsor the bill.

SB 618 This bill targets specific mandates imposed on physical and driver's education programs, as well as requirements to have defibrillators and staff trained to use them, to use 2 percent

biodiesel fuel in school vehicles and to use “green” cleaning products in schools. The bill also targets a law passed last year that requires school buses to have two-way communication devices. That law was passed in reaction to an incident when a bus driver was unaware that a student had been left on a bus. School boards would have to vote to opt out of any mandates. The measure would sunset in 2012. Sponsor Sen. John Sullivan, a Rushville Democrat, is holding the measure for now to give the State Board of Education’s panel time to make recommendations.

HB 4886 Students could face longer school days but only a four-day school week. The proposal would allow schools to switch to a shorter week to save money on transportation costs. School boards would have to vote to make the switch, and the State Board of Education would have to sign off on the shorter schedule. Schools would have to be open at least 150 days a year. Danville Republican Rep. Bill Black and Champaign Democrat Sen. Michael Frerichs sponsor the bill.

The idea behind the proposals is to give school systems more control over spending. When the state places requirements on schools but doesn’t provide a way to pay for them, schools must find the money in their budgets. That is becoming more and more difficult for schools facing cuts, especially when the state is \$850 million behind on payments to districts.

However, there are plenty of concerns over eliminating mandates. Cutting physical education does little to promote children’s health. While behind-the-wheel training is costly, simulators cannot do the job of teaching students how to drive. It stands to reason that the more time a teenager spends in a car with an instructor, the better prepared he or she will be when it comes time to hit the road solo. A four-day school week could leave working parents scrambling to find child care. While that plan could save money for schools, it may place a burden on parents who cannot afford day care or babysitters.

A measure that temporarily stops the creation of new mandates would be a good first step to address the issue. While it is tempting to find savings anywhere

The idea behind all those proposals is to give school systems more control over spending. When the state places requirements on schools but doesn’t provide a way to pay for them, schools must find the money in their budgets.

possible, the cost to students and parents should be considered as well. Allowing districts to opt out of mandates could be a good way to take some budgetary pressures off schools, but the legislature should avoid being reactionary and weigh the choice to waive carefully.

A more controversial plan that would give parents new choices would apply only to some elementary school students in the Chicago Public Schools system.

The measure, sponsored by Chicago Democratic Sen. James Meeks, would allow students attending the bottom 10 percent of low-performing elementary schools, as measured by No Child Left Behind standards, to take state dollars to pay tuition at private schools.

Giving students from underperforming schools vouchers to attend private institutions is a national issue and a concept that in the past has been backed almost solely by Republicans. The idea has gained some solid Democratic support this session after Meeks, a long-time advocate for school funding, picked it up.

Meeks ran for the General Assembly on school reform and has sponsored different versions of **SB 750**, a bill that would increase the income tax and expand the sales tax to some services while providing relief on property taxes. The idea behind the plan is to disconnect school funding from property taxes, the current structure that often leads schools in high-property-value neighborhoods to be much better funded than those in less affluent areas. Meeks has organized high-profile protests in Chicago against inequity in school funding. A compro-

mise version of his bill, **HB 174**, passed the Senate last year but was never called for a vote in the House.

While Meeks still backs **HB 174**, his voucher bill is gaining support this session. “I don’t think the kids in these 49 schools can wait until we come up with the perfect plan. And so while we’re coming up with ... the perfect school funding plan and the perfect teacher evaluation plan, I just think that we are hurting these student by not giving them a choice in the matter of whether or not they could get a decent education.”

The measure has already passed the Senate. When Chicago Sen. Rickey Hendon voted to pass the legislation in a Senate committee, he said he had never before supported the concept, but Meeks’ plan changed his mind.

While supporters of the bill say it creates competition and gives students who are not getting quality educations a choice, opponents say that choice should not be made with public money.

“We have nothing against private school, but it’s a choice and it should be a choice — it should be separate from tax dollars,” says Dave Comerford, a spokesman for the Illinois Federation of Teachers. Private schools would be allowed to opt in or out of the voucher program but currently can pick and choose their students. Comerford says this could be a problem if private schools turn down students with special needs because the schools do not have the money or facilities to accommodate them. “If you are getting tax dollars, you should be open to the public,” he says.

Colin Hitt, director of education policy for the Illinois Policy Institute, says the Chicago Public Schools system “cannot create suitable choices fast enough” for students in failing schools. The think tank, which does not support an income tax increase and describes itself as backing free-market principles, has been working on the vouchers bill with Meeks, sponsor of the only income tax increase proposal to clear one of the legislative chambers last session.

Illinois schools are facing hard times. Those challenges have created momentum behind concepts that have not seen traction in the legislature in recent years and have made for some strange political bedfellows. □

BRIEFLY

LEGISLATIVE CHECKLIST

The General Assembly passed two components of Gov. Pat Quinn's budget, pension reform and a business tax credit, before leaving Springfield for spring break. The legislature is scheduled to adjourn early this session, on May 7, and the primary focus will be completing a budget. Lawmakers are also considering multiple bills relating to education, transportation and stricter rules for sex offenders.

Business tax credit

SB 1578 Small businesses will be eligible for \$2,500 income tax credits for each new employee hired in the next fiscal year, under a measure signed by Gov. Pat Quinn. The Small Business Job Creation Tax Credit Act would be limited to \$50 million in credits statewide, or 20,000 new employees. The bill was sponsored by Sen. Michael Noland, an Elgin Democrat, and House Speaker Michael Madigan of Chicago.

Four-day school week

HB 4886 Some schoolchildren would

have three-day weekends under a proposal that would allow schools to operate on a weekly four-day schedule. The bill, approved by the House, is sponsored by Rep. William Black, a Danville Republican, and Sen. Michael Frerichs, a Champaign Democrat.

Experienced judges

HJRCA 57, SJRCA 120 New judges would have to have a minimum amount of experience as a licensed lawyer before sitting on the bench, if resolutions introduced by two Democrats, House Speaker Michael Madigan and Sen. Don Harmon of Oak Park, are approved by lawmakers and voters. The measure calls for circuit judges to have at least 10 years of experience, while appellate judgeships would require 12 years, and Supreme Court service would require 15 years of experience.

"Sexting"

HB 4583, SB 2513 Violators of a ban on "sexting" — when a minor electronically sends indecent visuals of himself or herself or another minor — would be

ordered to obtain counseling or complete community service, under measures proposed by Republican Rep. Darlene Senger of Naperville and Sen. Ira Silverstein, a Chicago Democrat. Each chamber has approved its respective bill.

Speed limit to 70

SB 3668 Motorists on rural four-lane highways would be permitted to drive 70 miles per hour, instead of 65 mph, if legislators approve a bill sponsored by Peoria Republican Sen. Dale Risinger. The measure had no House sponsor as of press time.

High-speed rail panel

SB 2571 Under the measure, the governor would appoint 15 members to the Illinois and Midwest High-Speed Rail Commission, which would study the potential for a partnership between the state and private business to bring high-speed rail to Illinois. The Senate approved the measure sponsored by Sen. Martin Sandoval and Rep. Daniel Burke, both Chicago Democrats.

Pension reform rushed in

While the idea of creating a two-tiered pension system has been around for years, and negotiations have fallen through in the past, legislators made the change with a bill that moved through both houses on a single day in March.

The new version, which the governor signed into law in April, will only apply to newly hired employees and will not affect the benefits of current state workers.

Employees hired after the bill takes effect in January will have to wait until age 67 (the retirement age is now 65) to get full benefits. They could start receiving benefits at age 62 with a 6 percent reduction for each year they draw their pensions before 67.

An alternative formula, which lets employees retire at 60 after working for 20 years, will be limited only to Department of Corrections security workers, Illinois state police officers and state firefighters.

Benefits will be determined by averaging the highest paid consecutive eight years in an employee's career. They are currently determined by the highest consecutive four years of the last 10 years. The amount of benefits will be capped at \$106,800, the threshold for Social Security benefits.

One part of the bill does apply to current and past employees. If they leave one state job and go to another, they will not be allowed to collect pension benefits while getting a paycheck from Illinois. They will be able to collect both pensions once they retire.

Union representatives accused Democrats of using strong-arm tactics to force the bill through quickly so the public would not have time for input. Henry Bayer, executive director of Council 31 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, says that the legislature should have taken more time to "study the implications of a

K2 ban

HB 4578 The cannabis imitation drug K2 would be a controlled substance, under a bill approved in the House and sponsored by Springfield Republican Rep. Raymond Poe and Sen. Kwame Raoul, a Chicago Democrat.

Motorcycle helmets

SB 2535 Children under the age of 18 would be required to wear a helmet while riding a motorcycle. The bill, sponsored by Chicago Democrat Sen. Donne Trotter, failed in the Senate and has no House sponsor.

Forensic audit

HR 1057 The auditor general could conduct forensic audits of all state spending, hiring, appointments and contracts during impeached Gov. Rod Blagojevich's administration, if lawmakers approve a measure sponsored by Republican Rep. Patricia Bellock of Hinsdale. No senators had signed on to sponsor the legislation as of press time.

Sex offenders

SB 2824 Approved by the Senate, the bill would ban sexual predators from public parks and within 500 feet of the surrounding area. Sen. Pamela Althoff, a McHenry Republican, and Rep. Jack

Franks, a Marengo Democrat, sponsored the measure.

HB 4675 Child sex offenders would be banned from working for local fairs. The bill, approved by the House, is sponsored by Rep. Carol Sente, a Chicago Democrat, and Sen. Terry Link, a Waukegan Democrat.

Nuclear ban lift

SB 3388 New nuclear power plants could be built in Illinois, under a measure that would lift a ban. Sen. Mike Jacobs, an East Moline Democrat, and Rep. Patrick Verschoore, a Milan Democrat, sponsored the bill, which has passed in the Senate.

Adoption

HB 5428 Adults who were adopted could access their original birth certificates unless their birth parents specifically request to remain anonymous, under a measure passed by the House. Rep. Sara Feigenholtz, a Chicago Democrat, and Sen. A.J. Wilhelmi, a Joliet Democrat, sponsored the bill.

Nursing home reform

SB 678 Owners and licensees of nursing home facilities that file inadequate or false reports of abuse or neglect could be

charged with a criminal offense. The bill, sponsored by Sen. Jacqueline Collins, a Chicago Democrat, passed the Senate in mid-April.

School vouchers

SB 2494 Students attending the bottom 10 percent low-performing elementary schools in Chicago, as measured by No Child Left Behind standards, would get tuition waivers to attend private schools. Students could choose the schools they attend, and private schools would have the option of accepting waivers. Rep. Will Davis, a Homewood Democrat, and Democrat Sen. James Meeks of Chicago, sponsored the bill, which has passed in the Senate.

Red light cameras

SB 935 Drivers who stop past the white line or crosswalk would be safe from getting a ticket if a red light camera takes their picture, under a proposal approved by the Senate. The measure, sponsored by Senate President John Cullerton, would also require studies to be conducted on intersections with red light cameras to determine if they reduce accidents. Rep. John D'Amico, a Chicago Democrat, sponsored the bill in the House.

Rachel Wells and Jamey Dunn

proposal that is going to affect the future of tens of thousands — if not hundreds of thousands — of our children and our grandchildren.”

“This is not the way to conduct policy. This is not the way the legislative process is supposed to work. This is not what they teach kids in school about the way the legislative process is supposed to work,” he says.

Quinn said at a press conference that the concept of pension reform has been on the table since he proposed it in his budget last year. He mentioned the dozen or so public hearings of a pension task force and said interested parties have had time to give input.

“Ultimately, you have to make decisions in democracy. You

cannot have a situation where it's just all talk. The people elect us to roll up our sleeves and take bold and important action for the common good and the public interest. And that's what happened.”

The changes in the proposal will not apply to local firefighters and police officers. Both groups are in negotiations with the Senate.

The bill rolled in a measure, previously passed with no opposition in the House, that makes changes to the retirement benefits of future Illinois judges and General Assembly members. It also requires judges and lawmakers to wait until age 67 to collect full benefits.

Jamey Dunn

For updated news see the *Illinois Issues* Web site at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

Court rules against Provena Medical

The Illinois Supreme Court issued a ruling that could affect nonprofit hospitals across the state and could eventually lead to new legislation.

The court ruled that Provena Covenant Medical Center in Champaign County is not eligible for a local property tax exemption it applied for in 2002 based on the hospital's status as a charitable operation. Provena is exempt from paying federal income taxes under that status.

The court ruled that Provena only offered charity care as a "last resort" and was critical of the health care provider for turning unpaid bills over to collection agencies.

"As a practical matter, there was little to distinguish the way in which Provena Hospitals dispensed its 'charity' from the way in which a for-profit institution would write off bad debt," Republican Justice Lloyd Karmeier's opinion said.

Provena contends that its treatment of Medicaid and Medicare patients constitutes charity because reimbursements do not cover the cost of care (see *Illinois Issues*, September 2009, page 26). The justices did not agree, saying that state and federal dollars also provide Provena with a steady revenue stream.

The court's opinion does note: "Treatment was offered to all who requested it, and no one was turned away by [Provena Covenant Medical Center] based on their inability to demonstrate how the cost of their care would be covered."

Democratic Justices Anne Burke and Charles Freeman disagreed with part of the ruling, saying the court does not have the power to set the standards for defining a charity.

"This can only cause confusion, speculation and uncertain-

ty for everyone: institutions, taxing bodies and the courts. Because the [Illinois Supreme Court] imposes such a standard, without the authority to do so, I cannot agree with it," Burke wrote in her dissent.

It is the possibility of confusion and speculation that could prompt legislators to create a more specific definition for what constitutes charity in the health care industry.

"I have a concern now that we are going to see a rush of local governments trying to go after other health facilities. Thinking that this is a way to get some quick revenue from property taxes ... the government may get a few extra dollars in property taxes, but then government is going to have to start providing all those services that those health care facilities used to provide," says Rockford Republican Sen. Dave Syverson, the minority spokesman of the Senate Public Health Committee.

Chicago Democratic Sen. William Delgado, the chairman of the Senate committee, agrees that lawmakers may have to address the issue. "[The ruling] triggers a legislative opportunity, they are sending you a message. ... That's a direct way of saying we'd better look at that from our perspective again."

"We can only hope this troubling ruling prompts a dialogue among hospitals and elected officials to dialogue about not only how we define charity care but also how we better ensure that the people who need financial assistance get it. We will work to lead the way," David Bertauski, president and CEO of Provena Covenant, said in a written statement.

Justice Thomas Kilbride, a Democrat, and Justice Rita Garman, a Republican, did not participate in the decision.

Janey Dunn

Supreme Court unveils historic painting

The Illinois Supreme Court held a special session recently to unveil a historic painting that was the basis for a century-old mural on the walls and ceiling of the highest court in the state.

Iowa native Albert Krehbiel won the opportunity in 1907 to paint what became the court's most prominent mural after he submitted the painting in a contest held by the state. Krehbiel, who studied art in Paris at the *Academie Julian*, came to Illinois to teach at the Art Institute of Chicago. His work won over submissions from 22 other artists. The mural is almost identical to the original painting.

Krehbiel's centerpiece mural, one of 11 he painted in the courtroom, is of three women representing the concepts of precedent, justice and record. It is on the back wall, which the justices face when they are on the bench. He also painted two murals in the appellate courtroom, which is housed in the same building.

After winning the commission for the mural, he purchased a barn and had it moved to his home in Park Ridge to serve as a studio.

Krehbiel was a noted impressionist. However, his submission painting and murals are in the Neo-Classical style of the courthouse and other artwork throughout. The style emphasizes order and balance and often idealizes the human form.

Krehbiel's work in the Illinois Supreme Court was praised by critics of the time and continues to be the subject of academic study.

In both the painting and the mural, Krehbiel had a fresh take on the idea of lady justice. She is typically portrayed holding scales and wearing a blindfold to symbolize impartiality and lack of prejudice. Krehbiel's justice is the focal point of



both pieces, seated in the center of the women depicting precedent and record, holding two torches at equal height. She is not blindfolded but gazes directly ahead with a wise and temperate look on her face.

Krehbiel based the women in his paintings on his wife, fellow artist Dulah Evans. She sat as the model for her husband's paintings, and he used photos of her when working on his mural.

After completing the court murals, Krehbiel went back to teaching at the Art



Robert Warren, left, and Mike Mauiscalco, right, conduct an interview with Oba Herschberger, an Amish farmer who raises Belgian draft horses in central Illinois.

Oral histories celebrate rural life

"We lived so simply," said Eileen Cunningham, who smiled into the camera as she recalled her childhood growing up near the Illinois River. "Mother had a garden. We had fruit trees, yellow plums,

cherries, apples and grapes. I'm sentimental." Cunningham, a retired nurse who lives on a farm in Greene County, shared her memories for part of the Illinois State Museum's Audio-Video Barn, a collection of oral and video histories pertaining to the state's agricultural and rural history.

An extension of the Oral History of Illinois Agriculture project, the Audio-Video Barn is an online collection of more than 130 oral histories from across the state. The collection is a partnership among the Illinois State Museum, the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Brookens Library at University of Illinois Springfield, Founders Memorial Library at Northern Illinois University and Randforce Associates. UIS and NIU contributed 61 existing oral histories from their collections for the Audio-Video Barn. The state museum and the presidential library, with a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services, were able to collect and add 78 new oral histories since 2007. The newer interviews were recorded on video.

"I found all of the people fascinating," says Robert Warren, curator of anthropology at the Illinois State Museum and lead investigator for the project. "All of the people were very knowledgeable, articu-

late and willing to share their story."

The oral histories are diverse, covering aspects of Illinois agriculture and rural life that included pumpkin farming, raising organic chickens and dairy farming. The people interviewed are diverse as well. They range from a 12-year-old girl, Makenna Barker, who displayed vegetables at the Illinois State Fair, to a 97-year-old man, Bert Aikman, who recalled his childhood on a farm in the 1880s. Nearly half of the state's counties — 47 of 102 — are represented.

The Illinois State Museum, the lead institution for the project, developed the Web site. Museum officials hope to use the reminiscences in an exhibit called the Hall of Illinois Agriculture when the museum expands. The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library is using some of the recordings in its temporary exhibit, *How Vast and Varied a Field: The Agricultural Vision of Abraham Lincoln*, on display until August 31.

The Web site, <http://avbarn.museum.state.il.us/>, contains the oral history collection, information about the interviewees, transcripts of the interviews and video recordings of the newer interviews. There is also a section on how to create your own oral history.

Institute and much of his work afterward focused on landscapes. He died in 1945 on the day he retired from the institute.

The painting that Krehbiel created for his entry in the contest was later put into storage and all but forgotten. It suffered water damage and had some holes in it, possibly as a result of Krehbiel's grandsons who played in the basement where the painting was stored.

The artist's family paid to have the work restored and donated it to the Illinois Supreme Court. "We are pleased to know that this artwork is no longer in the basement but is on display and will be appreciated by people beyond our own circle of family and friends," Krehbiel's grandchildren said in a written statement.

The painting is available for public viewing in the former Illinois Appellate courtroom in the Supreme Court Building.

Jamey Dunn

Melissa Weissert

BRIEFLY

RACE TO THE TOP Illinois continues funding fight

Despite being cut from the first round of grant recipients, Illinois will continue to work on its application to secure funds from the federal education reform initiative Race to the Top, state officials say.

The grant program aims to improve underachieving schools by tying student growth to teacher evaluations, developing better standards and assessments and maintaining quality teachers.

Only Delaware and Tennessee received first-phase awards. Illinois ranked fifth, also behind Florida and Georgia, among 16 finalists identified earlier this spring. Illinois plans to reapply in June for some of the remaining \$3.4 billion in Race to the Top grants, which federal officials will announce in September.

"States that didn't win don't have a leg up for the second round," U.S. Department of Education Secretary Arne Duncan said at a news conference. "It's a new competition. But where states have done a great job, obviously they can build on that existing work."

Whether Illinois wins a second-phase grant, the state will continue to pursue some elements of reform, such as raising teacher requirements and tying student growth to teacher evaluations.

"That was a path Illinois was on even before Race to the Top was ever thought of," says Matt Vanover, spokesman for the State Board of Education. "This money would help get us there sooner."

Other measures, such as a statewide learning and performance management database, require additional funds the state can't spare at this time. Illinois expects to see a \$13 billion budget gap for fiscal year 2011, and Gov. Pat Quinn in March proposed \$1.2 billion in education cuts to help balance the budget.

Evaluators pointed to Illinois' fiscal situation as cause for concern in the state's ability to sustain any reforms.

"That really wasn't a surprise," says Vanover. "That is an issue that everyone knows exists."

Vanover says that the timeline of the grant application was unforgiving.

"It was a very truncated time — it was done over the holidays. Getting that information out was a bit difficult," he

"States that didn't win don't have a leg up for the second round. It's a new competition. But where states have done a great job, obviously they can build on that existing work."

*Education Secretary
Arne Duncan*

says. The U.S. Department of Education released the final application in mid-November, shortly before the Thanksgiving holiday. States were given about two months to complete their applications.

Of the remaining available funds, Illinois may only apply for up to \$400 million, a \$110 million decrease from its original application budget.

Vanover says it's too early to know where reductions to Illinois' Race to the Top budget will come from.

Rachel Wells

UIC study finds former public housing residents still segregated

A study conducted by University of Illinois Chicago researchers found that most former residents of Chicago's now-demolished public housing still live in segregated, low-income neighborhoods, despite using housing vouchers to subsidize their rents.

The Housing Choice Voucher Program, a federal housing rental assistance program, aims to allow low-income families to rent good housing in the private market. Families accepted into the program receive federal vouchers that help subsidize their rent, which gives them the chance to relocate from economically segregated, low-income developments to neighborhoods that can offer better opportunities for work and education.

The program, which is funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, assists nearly 35,000 Chicago households annually. Though segregation patterns slowly have begun to change across the United States, they are stagnant in Chicago, according to the report, *Are We Home Yet? Creating Real Choice for Housing Choice Voucher Families in Chicago*.

"We can tell from our data that voucher holders are remaining in certain areas for long periods of time," says Janet Smith, director of UIC's Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. These areas are usually in the location of the former public housing units, adds Smith, who produced the study in conjunction with Housing Action Illinois,

the Latino Policy Forum and the Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law. "The data show that people are staying in these areas, and maybe it's because they feel stuck or they feel they can't leave. They may be there because that is where their family is. The majority of all HCV families have been in these communities since the 1980s."

With state budget problems and a struggling economy, more families are applying to the voucher program, yet many are unable to receive help.

"There are families right now that are renting with vouchers, but some are facing eviction due to foreclosure of the buildings they're living in," Smith says. "Landlords are defaulting, and currently, rental housing is accounting for one-third of the foreclosures in Chicago."

Another problem is that vouchers are not always available, and families are placed on waiting lists.

Smith says efforts need to be directed toward improving the communities where families live.

"I think it's important to promote mobility and move to better places if that is what they want to do," Smith says. Smith also believes that it's important to make sure that people currently living in more segregated communities are safe and healthy.

"I think that while segregation still exists, this study helps us to re-think how we look at this housing situation. We need to focus more on how to make the communities these families live in better. The solution isn't just moving people — it's seeing what we can do to make their communities better."

Nicole Harbour

Scholar creates tool to aid blind students

"Celebrating differences creates innovation," says Deana McDonagh, a professor of industrial design at University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. One of McDonagh's students, Sheila Schneider — the first legally blind student to major in sculpture in the School of Art +

Design — is creating a series of sculptures with Braille mathematic equations imprinted on them to be used as teaching tools to help visually impaired children learn math.

The project began in May 2009 when Schneider took McDonagh's Disability

and Relevant Design class. McDonagh received a grant from the Beckman Institute for Advanced Science and Technology at UIUC to start the project.

Schneider, a senior who plans to graduate this month with a bachelor's degree in fine arts, sculpted six models of various sizes out of cubes of balsa foam. The models were then transferred into three-dimensional computer images to place the mathematical equations on the sculptures.

McDonagh says the equations can be placed anywhere on the sculpture. "When children use the sculptures and [are] reading them with their fingertips, it's got to make sense to them where we place the Braille."

The sculptures will feature the Nemeth Code, which encodes mathematical and scientific notation in Braille. Abraham Nemeth, who developed the code, helped Schneider on the project. The sculptures were made for children from the ages of 7 to 11. Students can touch and explore the sculpture, designed to fit in a child's hand, and in the process discover math equations.

"We all learn differently. We need to be innovative to teach children. These sculptures are fun, engaging educational tools," says McDonagh, who is also lead investigator on the project.

Currently, 5 million preschool-aged children and about 12.1 million children ages 6 to 17 have visual impairments, according to the Braille Institute. One method of teaching math to visually impaired children is to use an abacus, a mathematical tool that reaches back more than 2,000 years.

The next step in Schneider's project is to have the sculptures cast in bronze to ensure durability. After that, they will be given to visually impaired students to test.

"We are taking sculptures out of the museum into the classroom, into students' hands," says McDonagh. She says she hopes the tools will help visually impaired students become more interested in careers in science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

Melissa Weissert

Photograph by L. Brian Stanffer, courtesy of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign



Sheila Schneider, left, and Deana McDonagh with Schneider's guide dog, Heather. A computer model of Schneider's sculpture is in the background.

BRIEFLY

Disease prevention funding comes up short in the Midwest

Even with all the recent scares of potential pandemics caused by viruses crossing over to humans from take-your-pick of animals — bird, swine, monkey, mosquito — states in the Midwest, as a group, have fared the worst in the nation when it comes to federal funding for disease prevention, according to a report from the Trust for America's Health and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

But the headline-grabbing maladies are not what may be targeted for fewer services as federal and state agencies cut back funding.

Nationwide, prevention programs for such chronic diseases as cancer, diabetes and obesity could be reduced, as well as those for HIV/AIDS, methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* (MRSA) and tuberculosis. Other less glamorous areas for potential cuts are food and water safety, bioterrorism and health emergency preparedness and environmental health improvement.

At \$16.50 per person on average, the 12 Midwestern states grouped in the report — Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin — received \$3.30 less per person in FY 2009 than the Northeastern states, which received the most federal funding at \$19.80. Western states received

\$19.22 and Southern states \$19.75 per person.

However, among the Midwestern states, Illinois ranked higher than most. Centers for Disease Control funds to the states averaged \$19.23 per person. Illinois was slightly below that at \$18.29, ranking 33, with only North Dakota (6), South Dakota (7) and Nebraska (21) ranking higher in receipt of federal funds. Alaska topped the list at \$58.65, and Virginia received the least at \$13.33.

Illinois ranked about the same (32) in the comparison of states' budget support for prevention programs. Hawaii ranked the highest at \$169.92 per person and Nevada the lowest at \$3.55, with a national median of \$28.92. Illinois spent \$24.32 per person, with only two Midwestern states contributing more budget support to disease prevention.

The Illinois Department of Public Health, as with all state agencies, had to propose some cuts to its fiscal year 2011 budget. Less than one-third of the department's budget is funded from the state's General Revenue Fund. Department leaders chose to protect funding for programs that are required to match federal dollars and "those essential to the mission of public health," according to department spokeswoman Melaney Arnold.

The public health department will use two-thirds of its state funding to continue grants to three programs: local health protection, HIV/AIDS and breast and cervical cancer.

Local health departments will receive funding to carry out food inspections, private water supply and sewage disposal system regulation, and infectious disease prevention/investigation.

Approximately 4,000 people will continue to receive life-saving medications through the AIDS Drug Assistance Program. And an estimated 36,000 uninsured women received breast and cervical cancer screenings in Illinois in FY 2010 through a program that will continue to receive funding.

The department expects federal funding to remain flat, with the exception of some American Recovery and Reinvestment Act funding for chronic diseases and wellness. The state is receiving about \$3.1 million to help reduce obesity, increase physical activity, improve nutrition and decrease smoking.

To stretch the remaining state general revenue funding, the public health agency will cut staff and operational expenses. In addition, programs that may have to be reduced include community health centers, prostate cancer awareness, women's health promotion, ALS (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis) research, medical student scholarships, and family practice residency and rural health grants.

The department did preserve funding for its three laboratories, which, Arnold said in an e-mail, "were essential during the H1N1 influenza outbreak and necessary for day-to-day foodborne illness and infectious disease tracking."

Beverley Scobell

COUNTY HEALTH STATS

Where we live can make a difference in how healthy we are. A new study from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation ranks all counties in all states using several measures that weigh how healthy we are (outcomes) and what contributes to our level of health (factors). Public policy can tilt the balance one way or the other.

In Illinois, the report, *County Health Rankings*, rates DuPage County as one of the healthiest in the state. Alexander County in the far southwest corner of the state ranks at or near the bottom in three of four categories used to determine population health. The rankings are available at www.countyhealthrankings.org.

The foundation collaborated with the University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute to formulate the rankings. Health factors researchers considered include four major categories: environmental quality; social/economic pressures, such as education, income, employment and support systems; access to and quality of clinical care; and health behaviors, such as alcohol and tobacco use, diet and exercise, and unsafe sex.

This study is the first to take a national look, county by county, at population health. However, the Illinois Department of Public Health has been gathering data for use by the state's counties since 1993 and is currently working on its most recent report. Called IPLAN, the Illinois Project for Local Assessment of Needs is a community health assessment and planning process conducted every five years by local health jurisdictions.

The IPLAN Web site offers a data system containing 102 health indicators, 39 of which also are available at the community level. Illinois data is included on all county-level and community-level reports.

"The [Robert Wood Johnson Foundation] report is another tool for counties to use," says Melaney Arnold, a spokeswoman for the public health department. "What the study identified as factors, counties are already working on. Yet, some officials may be surprised by a piece of data they hadn't detected and will use it to address an issue in their county."

Beverley Scobell

Group offers budget balancing plan

The Illinois Policy Institute, a research group that says it is dedicated to free market principles, released an alternative to Gov. Pat Quinn's budget that its leaders say will eliminate the deficit without a tax increase.

John Tillman, chief operating officer of the institute, says that cuts should come in the state budget instead of asking citizens to make cuts to their personal budgets to pay higher income taxes.

In his budget address, Quinn proposed a 1 percentage point increase in personal and corporate income taxes in order to defer drastic cuts to education.

The priorities of the institute's budget are to pay the state's pension obligation and the backlog of overdue bills. The institute proposed paying the pension obligation for the upcoming fiscal year out of available funds before making general appropriations or borrowing to cover the pension cost, as the state did last fiscal year.

The plan is a so-called zero-based budget. Instead of looking at an agency or program budget from the year before and adjusting it for inflation, a practice often used in budgeting for state governments, the institute started everything out at zero and built from there.

The "guiding principles" of the plan include fairness, transparency and setting priorities, which lead to such choices as cutting all state money for many scholarships for minority populations and a commission that advocates for the deaf and hearing impaired. The proposal says that public funds should not be used to further the interests or address the concerns of a specific population but should benefit all citizens equally.

The plan proposes its biggest cuts in education, health care and human services. However, it does increase foundation funding levels for K-12 schools and MAP grants for college students above the levels in Quinn's budget.

Kristina Rasmussen, executive vice president of the Illinois Policy Institute, says the institute's plan increases general aid to schools because it would allow school districts more freedom to decide how to spend the money. "We felt that

general state aid comes with fewer strings attached," she says.

But with that freedom should also come more accountability. Tillman says local governments should make their budgeting more transparent by posting spending numbers online.

Tillman adds that he thinks many schools facing layoffs could make cuts elsewhere to avoid drastic reductions in their workforce. He says posting local budgets online would allow citizens to judge for themselves about the choices being made in their local schools and municipalities.

As for the choices made in the institute's version of the state budget, Tillman says: "We put teachers before administrators, roads before expansive rail proposals and public safety before public art. These are not easy decisions, but they must be made." The plan zeroes

out the budget for the Illinois Arts Council, saying that funding for the arts should come from private donors.

"We welcome all budget-related suggestions, including the feedback from the Illinois Policy Institute," Kelly Kraft, a spokeswoman for the Governor's Office of Management and Budget, said in a written statement. "Gov. Quinn has reduced headcount by 1,000 employees and has proposed over \$200 million in operational savings in next year's budget."

Rasmussen says that the institute's proposed budget has not been drafted into legislation. She says the point of it is to prove that the budget crisis can be addressed without a tax increase, although it would require some drastic and unpopular cuts. "Our goal is to add another dimension to that debate."

Jamey Dunn



Wanted: Leadership

A true leader has the courage to do what's best for society in the long term

by Burt Constable

Our impeached past governor, Rod Blagojevich, is best-known for being a TV punch line synonymous with corruption and bad hair. As he awaits his federal trial this summer on charges he schemed to sell President Barack Obama's old Senate seat and used his state-given power to shill for campaign donations, Blagojevich drags our state's reputation with him

from *The Late Show with David Letterman* to *The Celebrity Apprentice*.

Apparently showing that there is a limit to our embarrassment, members of the Illinois House recently voted not to use precious taxpayer funds to commission a portrait of Blagojevich to hang in the Capitol with all the other Illinois governors. The display might be more of a gubernatorial mug shot gallery as a

Blagojevich likeness would occupy a spot next to that of George Ryan, who preceded Blagojevich in office and also in a widespread corruption scandal that should see Ryan released from prison on July 4, 2013.

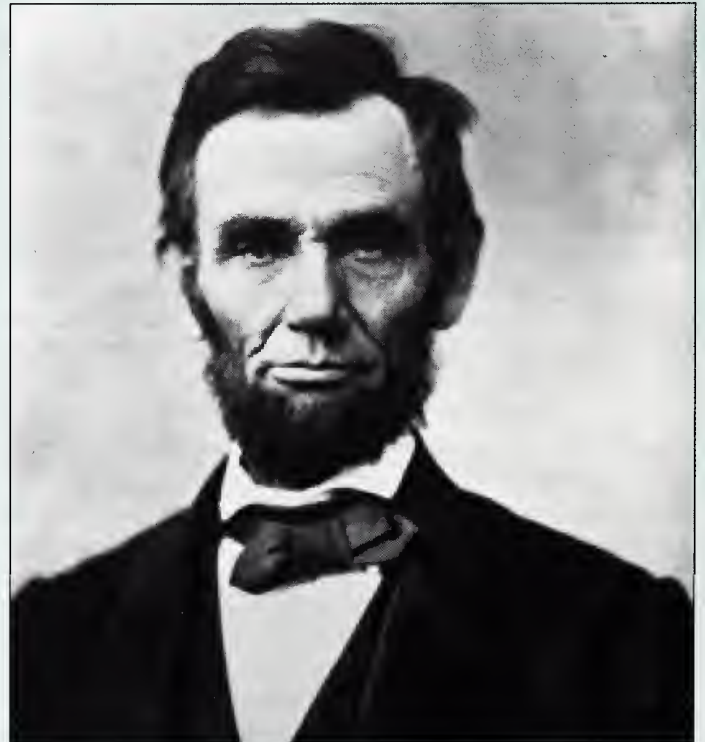
If Blagojevich is convicted and sent to prison, Illinois would have the dubious distinction of having four of our state's last eight governors spend time in the

Illinoisans who have led

by the Editors

Illinois' legacy of leadership is a long one: Abraham Lincoln; Ulysses Grant; Everett Dirksen; Paul Simon, to name a few. The following pages include photographs or artistic depictions of some of those who are no longer living. We do not claim to have compiled a complete compendium. In fact, notable omissions from the art essay include former Govs. Edward Coles, who kept Illinois from being a slave state; Thomas Ford, who protected the state from bankruptcy; and Henry Horner, who led the state through the Great Depression.

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Abraham Lincoln, the 16th president and savior of the Union

slammer. That .500 percentage might be enough to make the NBA playoffs, but all it earns Illinois is the ignominy of having our state pop up first during a Google search for “most crooked state.”

But you can’t blame all of Illinois’ woes on our governors. Our state has a \$13 billion budget shortfall and a well-earned reputation for not paying our bills on time. We’re a deadbeat state. In an effort to curb costs, Illinois is hemorrhaging public school teachers, cutting as many as 17,000 jobs. After decades of ignoring the problem of the nation’s worst pension debt, Illinois legislators recently took one day to introduce and pass a pension-reform bill that should save us money.

That action still wasn’t enough to stop financial institutions from downgrading our state’s credit rating to a notch just above the nearly bankrupt California.

When faced with choosing between the lesser of two evils, Illinois voters sometimes elected the greater evil. We see examples of good leadership in our homes, at our jobs, in organizations to which we belong or even when rooting for the stars on our favorite sports teams. But we just can’t seem to get a

handle on political leadership. We sometimes elect the wrong people, people who can’t resist the temptation of the dark side, or people who don’t have the right stuff to lead us out of the wilderness.

For years, our leaders haven’t wanted to risk their re-election prospects by raising taxes, and they didn’t want to suffer the political fallout that would come from making cuts in services. It was as if our leaders, bereft of any ideas, were just wandering around a political desert looking for a miracle. Perhaps we need a leader with some experience along those lines, maybe a modern-day Moses.

“Interesting thing about Moses, and David, and King Saul, too: None of them wanted to become a leader,” says Rabbi Tzvi Freeman, director of Ask-The-Rabbi for Chabad.org and author of *Bringing Heaven Down to Earth*. “When Moses heard that divine call to lead from a burning bush, he stood there and argued, looking for every way he could to get out of it. When Samuel appointed Saul as king, the people had to fish him out from his hiding place in the luggage room. As for King David, even while in

his palace, he sang about what a lowly creature he was, unworthy of leading a nation.”

If a qualified candidate for leadership can argue with a flaming shrub sent from God, what hope do political party chairs have of wooing a top-notch candidate during the annual fish fry?

“The people who are not interested in positions of leadership are often the most qualified,” says Joseph Holt, who teaches leadership as part of his role as director for executive ethics for the Mendoza College of Business at the University of Notre Dame.

Leadership is a demanding, and often thankless, gig when done correctly. If it’s not done correctly, it attracts people who are opportunists, not leaders.

“The ones who get in power are the ones most hungry for it,” Freeman says. Raising campaign funds and winning an election can be an onerous task, and some people just don’t want to do it. Others will do whatever it takes to land the job.

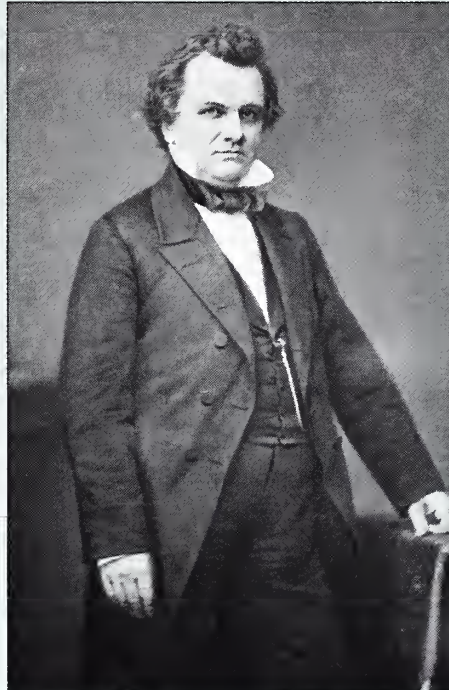
Much of Holt’s job is teaching leadership skills and ethics to business executives who already are in leadership positions.

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Richard Yates, U.S. senator and representative and 13th governor of Illinois, serving during the Civil War

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Stephen A. Douglas, U.S. senator and representative and advocate against the secessionist movement

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Lyman Trumbull, U.S. senator and representative who served during the Civil War and co-wrote the U.S. Constitution’s 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery

"Ethics and leadership are intertwined," says Holt, who acknowledges that hasn't always been the case in Illinois.

Leadership is more than just keeping the boat afloat while managing to avoid impeachment and indictments.

"The positive side of ethics is not 'Don't embarrass us,' but rather, 'Engage in behavior that is a credit to us and to yourselves, that enhances our reputation and your own,'" Holt maintains. "In the context of leadership in Illinois, this would aim at the avoidance of wrongdoing and scandal as a moral minimum, and then aspire beyond that to working effectively on behalf of the people of Illinois in a manner that you will be able to look back on with justifiable pride."

So how can we tell if a leader is a true leader, an ego-driven maniac or merely a middle manager with the chutzpah to emerge from the pack?

"There are some characteristics that are essential no matter where leadership is needed," notes Holt, himself a student of myriad leadership studies. "The No. 1 characteristic that comes up is trustworthiness."

Authors and researchers James Kouzes and Barry Posner, have spent 25 years conducting surveys on leadership. They have discovered the characteristics people want, admire and are willing to follow in their leaders. People want leaders who are honest, forward-looking, inspiring, competent, fair-minded, supportive, broad-minded, intelligent, straightforward, courageous, dependable, cooperative, imaginative, caring, mature, determined, ambitious, loyal, self-controlled and independent — in that order.

Honesty. It's been a while since we've talked up that trait, but it used to be synonymous with Illinois in the 19th century when "Honest Abe" Lincoln became such a leader we stuck his face on a penny and the \$5 bill.

"[Abraham] Lincoln's leadership was extraordinary dealing with the things that were thrown at him," agrees Thomas Schwartz, Illinois state historian.

Clearly driven, Lincoln always strived for higher office, but he didn't crave power for power's sake.

"If Lincoln had his way and didn't have to deal with the problems of war and slavery, he probably would not be much remembered," Schwartz says. "He

was more of an administrator president than a leader president, but the war changed the whole thing. The war produced the model of the strong president we see today."

Lincoln made the bold decisions about slavery and war, and took the political heat. While courage cracks the list of top 10 traits people admire in a leader, some politicians consider it a roadblock to re-election.

"Courage, while necessary for constructive leadership, can be career-limiting," Holt advises. A true leader might have the courage to do what's best for society in the long term, but voters and public opinion polls tend to focus on the short term.

"But a lack of courage is integrity-limiting, so the best leaders do what they think is right even if it's not popular," Holt says. "The challenge is to know when to pick your battles."

One of the practices of exemplary leadership that Holt teaches is the concept of a "shared vision" that inspires others. Lincoln nailed that one, too.

"A leader needs to have a vision and execute it correctly but also give an explanation to the public so that they

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Ulysses Grant, 18th president and Civil War general

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Frances Willard, Illinois suffrage movement leader

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Jane Addams, founder of the Settlement House Movement and first U.S. woman to win the Nobel Prize

know what they are supporting. Lincoln had to build a constituency that would support a series of ideas,” Schwartz says.

Inspired by the Declaration of Independence’s promise that “all men are created equal,” Lincoln “was shaping his replies to soothe constituencies,” Schwartz says. “Timing is everything, and he was moving people slowly to his position.”

Instead of immediately taking his preferred and controversial position of freeing the slaves, Lincoln made small inroads into public opinion and gradually coaxed the people across that moral finish line, where he already was standing.

“If you really believe in something, you’re going to do everything you can to see those ideas win the day,” Schwartz says. “Lincoln wanted to be an active player.”

The best leaders don’t just talk the talk. They act.

That is one of the attributes that elevated hockey’s Jonathan Toews to captain of the Chicago Blackhawks shortly after his 20th birthday.

“You’ve got to be a hard worker,” Toews says in the locker room after a

recent practice. Players respect the captain.

“They care,” Toews says, “and they need to know that you care.”

As a leader, Toews has brought his Blackhawks to the NHL playoffs and also helped lead his Canadian Olympic team to a gold medal.

“It’s something I’m kind of used to, I guess,” says Toews, the captain. “I think it’s something that happens naturally. You can’t just put a C on the sweater and make someone the leader.”

And you can’t just elect a politician and expect him or her to lead.

“I think that not all who occupy positions of leadership are in fact leaders,” Holt says. “In politics, it seems to me there is a difference between those who are truly leaders and those who are merely in positions of leadership.”

As part of his courses, Holt points to “The Five Practices of Exemplary Leadership” from a book by Kouzes and Posner.

1. Be a model. “Modeling means going first, living behaviors for others to adopt. This is leading from the front.”

2. Inspire a shared vision. “People are motivated most not by fear or reward but

“I think that not all who occupy positions of leadership are in fact leaders. In politics, it seems to me there is a difference between those who are truly leaders and those who are merely in positions of leadership.”

***— Joseph Holt,
University of Notre Dame***

by ideas that capture their imagination. This is not so much about having a vision but communicating it so effectively that others take it as their own.”

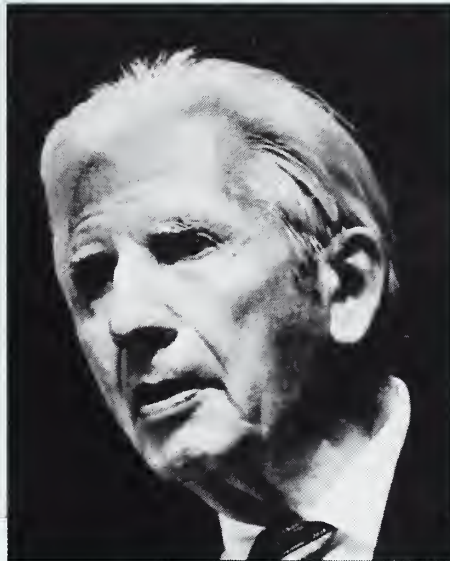
3. Challenge the process. “Leaders thrive on and learn from adversity and difficult situations. They are early adopters of innovation.”

Image courtesy of the U.S. Senate.



Everett Dirksen, U.S. senator and representative, who as Senate minority leader helped write and pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Open Housing Act of 1968

Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service



Paul Douglas, U.S. senator, crusader for civil rights and leader of investigations into fiscal mismanagement in government

Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress



Adlai Stevenson II, U.N. ambassador and the 31st governor of Illinois, where he cracked down on illegal gambling

4. Enable others to act. "Encouragement and exhortation is not enough. People must feel able to act and then must have the ability to put their ideas into action."

5. Encourage the heart. "People act best of all when they are passionate about what they are doing. Leaders unleash the enthusiasm of their followers with stories and passions of their own."

Inspiring people with words alone just doesn't cut it, whether the playing field is a political arena or an ice rink.

"A guy can raise his voice and lead for a moment, but the real leaders are good players," Toews says. "You have to care about whatever it is."

While intelligence and competence make the list of admired leadership traits, Holt says he is surprised that "wisdom" doesn't. Wise politicians know when and how to push an issue. Smart, competent and good doesn't always get it done. Character alone is not enough.

"You can have the heart of St. Francis of Assisi, but if you don't know what you are doing, it doesn't matter," Holt says. Likewise, you can manage without a moral compass, Holt says, "but if someone's heart is in the right place, there is a

lot to make them more effective."

Then there are those weak leaders who might start with good intentions but are easily led astray.

"It's not only 'Are the apples good apples or bad apples?' but 'Is the barrel a good barrel?'" Holt says. "When you regularly get bad apples, it's time to ask whether there's a problem with the barrel and not just with those individual apples. For a person to be successful we need a healthy political culture."

The old "everybody does it," "that's the way it's always been" or "anyone with a different opinion is an evil moron" isn't healthy, so we might have some work to do to create a better environment for leaders to prosper.

There are also strong leaders who can lead people in the wrong direction, of course.

"It is a moral warning light if a leader's decision is easily justified on the basis of his or her self-interest, but not easily justified as in the best interests of the people he or she is privileged to serve," Holt says. "No leader is remembered for being great because of what he accomplished for himself."

A leader's behavior can rub off on the

political culture. Holt recalls an interview with a CEO who said 15 percent of his workforce will do the right thing regardless of whether anyone is watching them. 15 percent need watching all the time, and the other 70 percent are fundamentally decent but need positive leadership.

"A leader creates a culture that supports the better instincts of the 70 percent," Holt says. "To me, a leader is above all motivated by a vision that life can be better for everyone in the community that he or she serves, and get people to share in that vision and work to achieve it."

Holt of Notre Dame and Rabbi Freeman both point to a passage in the book of Exodus in which Moses' father-in-law tells him how to pick good leaders: "Moreover choose able men from all the people, such as fear God, men who are trustworthy and who hate a bribe; and place such men over the people as rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens."

"That," Holt concludes, "would be a pretty good starting place." □

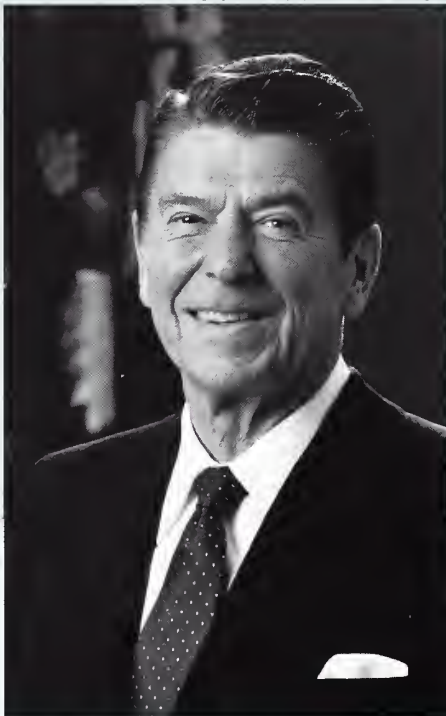
Burt Constable is a columnist for the suburban Chicago Daily Herald.

Photograph courtesy of Wikipedia



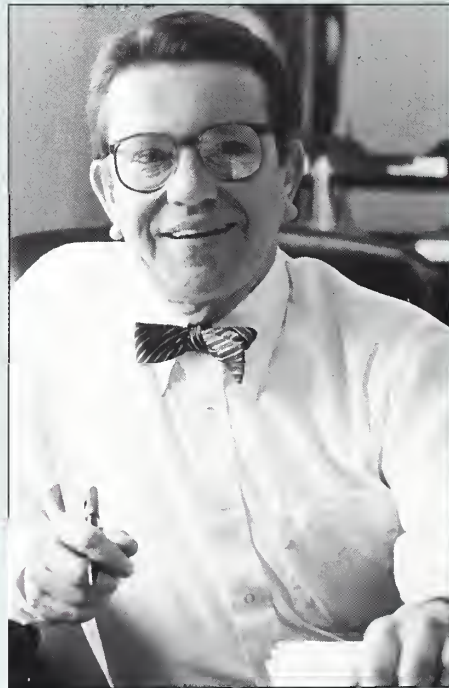
George Halas, pioneering coach and owner of the Chicago Bears

Photograph courtesy of www.whitehouse.gov



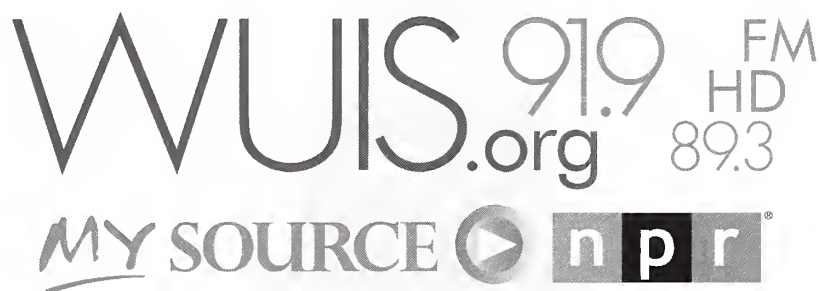
Ronald Reagan, 40th president and contributor to the end of the Cold War

Illinois Issues file photograph



Paul Simon, U.S. senator and representative, prolific author and advocate for ethics in government

Straight from the Statehouse bureau...



Comprehensive coverage of Illinois government news
at 91.9 FM, 89.3 FM, and streaming at WUIS.org.

Incisive analysis on **State Week in Review** Fridays at 6:30 p.m.,
Saturdays at 6:30 a.m. and podcast at WUIS.org.
Reports in newscasts and when news breaks.

Morning Edition • Fresh Air • All Things Considered • Marketplace



**Updates
to listings in the
2010 Roster
of State
Government Officials
are available at
the Illinois Issues
Web site:**

<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>



CONTACT: Jeff Holman

Illinois Press Advertising Service

217-241-1700 • jholman@illinoispress.org

AIM:

Access • Image • Marketing

Trusted media experts for more than 140 years!

- **Full Service Ad Placement**

AIM at all newspapers & other media. Any state. Any market.

- **Online Advertising**

AIM for newspaper Web sites to fit your target audience.

- **Press Release Service**

AIM your message to every media outlet in the state.

- **Logo & Campaign Design**

AIM for the image you want with the right logo or design concept.

- **Media Monitoring**

AIM can track your message everywhere it goes.

Stanley Ikenberry

The interim president of the University of Illinois was asked by the Board of Trustees to fill the vacancy left by the September resignation of B. Joseph White, who left amidst a scandal over clout-driven hiring at the university's Urbana-Champaign campus. Ikenberry had initially served as president of UIUC from 1979 through 1995.

Ikenberry also served as president of the Washington, D.C.-based American Council of Education for five years. He has been chairman of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and president of the Board of Overseers of TIAA-CREF (Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, College Retirement Equities Fund.)

He returned to the University of Illinois in 2001 to teach higher education policy and leadership in the College of Education on the Urbana campus as regent professor and president emeritus. He also holds an appointment in the universitywide Institute of Government and Public Affairs.

Born in Colorado, Ikenberry received a bachelor's degree from Shepherd College (now Shepherd University) in Shepherdstown, W.Va., in 1956 and master's and doctoral degrees from Michigan State University in 1957 and 1960, respectively. Before he came to the University of Illinois in 1979, he was a senior vice president for administration at Pennsylvania State University and a professor in its Center for the Study of Higher Education. Ikenberry discussed leadership and other issues with Springfield free-lance writer **Kate Clements Cohorst**. This is an edited, condensed version of that conversation.

Q. You were one of the longest serving presidents in U of I history, from 1979 to 1995. How does it feel to be the person the university turned to now, in the wake of this admissions scandal and leadership shake-up?



It's nice to be back, nice to be wanted. Actually, I was also the youngest president ever to be president of the University of Illinois; now I'm probably also the oldest to ever be president of the University of Illinois, so Alpha and Omega. But, it's nice to be back, and I'm very pleased to be able to help.

Q. What lessons did you take from your earlier work as U of I president that you still use today?

One of the lessons I took from my earlier experience as president is probably not applicable today. And that is how long it took to accomplish things. I found that it took me, many times, two or three or four or five years to get something actually accomplished. This time around, I don't have that long — maybe nine months, 12 months at the most — so I think I have a greater sense of urgency to make a contribution and to get things done. So far, I'm encouraged that we are going to be able to do that.

Q. It is 15 years later. You left and were president of the American College of Education in the meantime, and you've had many other life experiences. How are you different this time in the job,

and in what ways are you the same?

I think I'm pretty much the same person. The one thing that's changed with me over the last 15 years is technology. When I left the presidency in '95, I didn't have a computer on my desk. I didn't know how to function with a computer. I did carry a cell phone, but I wasn't, then or now, particularly attached to a cell phone. But computers and electronic communication have become the staple of everyday life. So, the main thing that's changed in the presidency now from 15 years ago is communication. It's so much quicker. It's so much more information that's passing back and forth, and frankly, it takes more time now to consume the information now than it did 20 years ago. I'm spending probably an extra couple of hours a day working with my e-mail.

Q. How have the challenges of the job changed, other than that you are on a much tighter timeline?

The challenges of the job are really very much the same. The challenge is to have a feel for the students and the faculty and my administrative colleagues; to be able to develop and maintain the confidence of the members of the board of trustees; to be able to communicate with the public; to be able to work with members of the General Assembly; and, to do all that while at the same time you are managing a large, complex organization. If you put all of that together, that's basically the challenge of being president of the University of Illinois, but it's also what makes it such a rewarding experience.

Q. Being the flagship public university, there's always a connection with the state government. What kind of political pressures did you face as the leader then and now?

I've generally found the members of the General Assembly with whom I worked, and the two governors with whom I worked — Jim Thompson and Jim Edgar — both to be very supportive, very easy to work with, and I did not feel those pressures very intensely.

Right now, we have some very intense pressures due to the precarious financial situation in which the state of Illinois finds itself. As we're doing this interview in the first part of March 2010, the state of Illinois now owes the university almost half a billion dollars in outstanding payments. So we're experiencing a severe cash crisis, which in turn is causing a lot of other negative things to happen, including furlough days and layoffs and hiring freezes and other kinds of actions that we would prefer not to take and that are damaging to academic programs.

I'm hopeful that political leaders will come to a consensus as soon as possible to do what needs to be done. The agenda of what needs to be done is pretty clear. The state is going to have to rein in state spending and that will mean some fairly painful budget cuts. But it also will have to raise taxes because neither taxes alone nor cuts alone will be sufficient to solve the state's financial crisis right now. It is the worst it's ever been in the history of the state.

Q. And because it is so bad right now, do you feel that politics are a bigger part of the job now for you?

Certainly the public side of the job is bigger now than it has perhaps ever been. The public side includes not just dealing with policymakers but also with the media, because one of the big problems that we face is developing the public understanding of the depth of the financial crisis that the state faces, which in turn is having an impact on every college and university in Illinois.

Q. How would you describe your leadership style?

That's difficult to put into words. In one sense I lead by building consensus. Particularly in a university environment, you can't just go around directing people. You have to persuade people that your

recommendations, the course you're laying out, is wise and productive and so forth. So I spend a lot of time persuading people and building consensus. I enjoy working with new and bold and creative ideas, and I think that's the exciting, rewarding part of leadership. But in order to do that, you also have to build confidence in the people around you so that they're willing to experiment with those new approaches and those new ideas. I think trust and confidence are also key to successful leadership. Those who hold power also have the responsibility to exercise that power in a way that builds trust, that merits trust. So my leadership style incorporates all of those elements as I go about my job.

Q. Do you have a personal leadership philosophy?

I think the most important thing about leadership is to remember that each of us, in some capacity or other, is a leader. We tend to think of leadership as something that somebody else does, but everybody that works with other people is involved in a collaborative effort to move things forward. That's what leadership is all about. My own philosophy of leadership is to try to develop the talents of everybody that's around me and to use those to magnify what I can do through other people.

Q. How does this collaborative leadership philosophy apply to what you do now?

The thing that's most obvious with the University of Illinois is that we are a single university that operates in three major locations or three major campuses. So my collaborative relationship, my partnership, with the chancellors on those three campuses is key to making the system work. I have a great working relationship with Paula Allen-Meares, the chancellor of our Chicago campus, Bob Easter, the chancellor in Urbana-Champaign, and Richard Ringeisen here in Springfield. They work independently; they carry a lot of responsibility. But at the same time, we work as a very cohesive leadership team, and I think that's what causes the university to work as effectively as it does.

Q. Speaking of Chancellor Ringeisen, it sounds as if the university is going to be searching for a replacement for him in the near future. What qualities should they be looking for?

I think basically two. They have to be able to walk on water and jump tall buildings in a single leap. But seriously, I think we will be reflecting on where we are and where we need to go, over the next few months, to try to answer precisely that question. We will be beginning to identify the composition of a search committee and getting organized, and then launching the search in a full-throated way probably early next fall.

Q. What sort of qualities do you think the university needs to look for in the next president, and are you a candidate?

(Laughter) No, I'm not a candidate. But the presidential search is moving along very well also. There's every reason to expect that that appointment will be made and a person in place by the beginning of the next academic year, and I think that's great.

I think we're looking for a person who has obviously had a lot of very good experience. You don't want any new president to entirely be learning on the job, so to speak. On the other hand, every new president does learn a lot in the first two or three years, so we can expect that. I think again, the ability to communicate, the ability to envision possibilities and to inspire others to achieve excellence in the work of the university. I think building trust and confidence among diverse groups and constituencies. These are the kinds of things I think will be very important for your new president, and for that matter, the next chancellor of the Springfield campus.

Incidentally, we will be searching also, in about the same time frame, for a chancellor in Urbana. So we'll have lots of new opportunities over the next three years, and we'll be getting acquainted with a new leadership team.

Q. Are there any challenges for a team like this to lead in higher education as compared to leading in other fields?

In a college or university, much of the authority and responsibility is delegated to the individual faculty member. It's not possible for a university president or a board of trustees to outline specifically what a faculty member should teach in a class, precisely what should be learned, where the next frontier of knowledge is, what kind of research could be done. In colleges and universities, we employ highly educated, highly energetic individuals who actually accept responsibility to try as best they can to answer those questions on their own. And we call that academic freedom. But it's also an academic responsibility that every scholar has to pursue the truth and share it with their students. I think the challenge of being president or otherwise leading this kind of an organization is one of giving leadership and direction to that enterprise, while at the same time you recognize the limits of that leadership. The key is hiring and attracting and retaining top-flight faculty. If you do that job well, a lot of the other challenges begin to take care of themselves.

Q. Do you think leadership is something that can be taught?

I've tried. Since I came back to Illinois and in my faculty role, I've actually taught a class or two in leadership. It's not easy, I've found, because leadership is in many ways like riding a bicycle. It's hard to teach how to ride a bicycle until you actually get on the bicycle. You have to get on the bicycle and you start pedaling and you probably fall over and skin your elbow a couple of times and then eventually you begin to get the hang of it. And I think leadership is somewhat the same way. There are good books on leadership and the theory of leadership and helpful tips and so forth, but in the end, leadership is a complex human behavior and it's a behavior that's perfected through practice and experience. So one can take a class, but the most effective way to learn to lead is to actually go out and lead.

Q. Do you remember a time when you went out and were leading and you learned a leadership lesson the hard way?

Have I bumped my head occasionally? Anybody who looks at my record at the University of Illinois will tell you yes. Part of leadership is being willing to take chances, and taking chances means occasionally that you will fail. Yes, I've had failures. Sometimes, however, even failures, you learn through failures. And you call attention to problems by attacking problems rather than ignoring them. You may not solve the problem in the way you set out to solve it, but by the attempt — even if the specific solution that you proposed is not accepted — you may ultimately cure the problem through some other avenue, eventually. I think complacency, not attacking problems, is probably the biggest danger, not failure. You can usually recover from failure. You can pick yourself up and dust yourself off and start all over again, but doing nothing, being complacent, being overly cautious, I think, is probably the biggest risk of leadership.

Q. You have only a short time left, depending on how the search goes. Where does the U of I go from here? And how are you putting all this into play over the next several months?

Well, the University of Illinois is just a very exciting place. It has such a rich history, but it also has a very exciting future. It's sometimes difficult to remember that in the heat of battle during a particular day. But if you look at the great inventions that have come out of the University of Illinois, if you think of the rich array of people who have graduated from the University of Illinois over the years, if you take stock of that, you begin to understand how important the university is to the future of Illinois, to the future of our nation. I think that the most rewarding, exciting part of being president of the University of Illinois is at the end of the day thinking that you played some role in preserving and enhancing that legacy.

Q. Do you feel like you are having or will have any trouble with sort of a lame-duck effect, knowing that you are only here for a little bit, and with turnover of two of the three chancellors?

No. Actually, things are working out so well and life is so busy that the lame-duck aspect is pretty much a lame duck itself. It's just not part of the atmosphere. I think for me psychologically, having been president earlier for 16 years and then coming back, in some ways psychologically, it's like I've never been gone. So, I don't have that lame-duck feeling. I have a feeling of continuity between the first time around and now, even though it turned out there were 15 years in between. But the other thing is the current environment is so demanding that it takes every waking hour. There are just a myriad of decisions that have to be made every single day and many challenges that need to be met. So it's really actually an exciting time, even though it's going to be brief. □

– ADVERTISING OPPORTUNITIES –

ISSUE AD PLACEMENT DEADLINE

July/August Environmental	
Issue	June 2, 2010
September	August 2, 2010
October	September 1, 2010

Discounts for multiple insertions!

**Gain visibility among
our readership**

70%

**of our readers say they
personally influence
policymaking or lawmaking
in Illinois.***

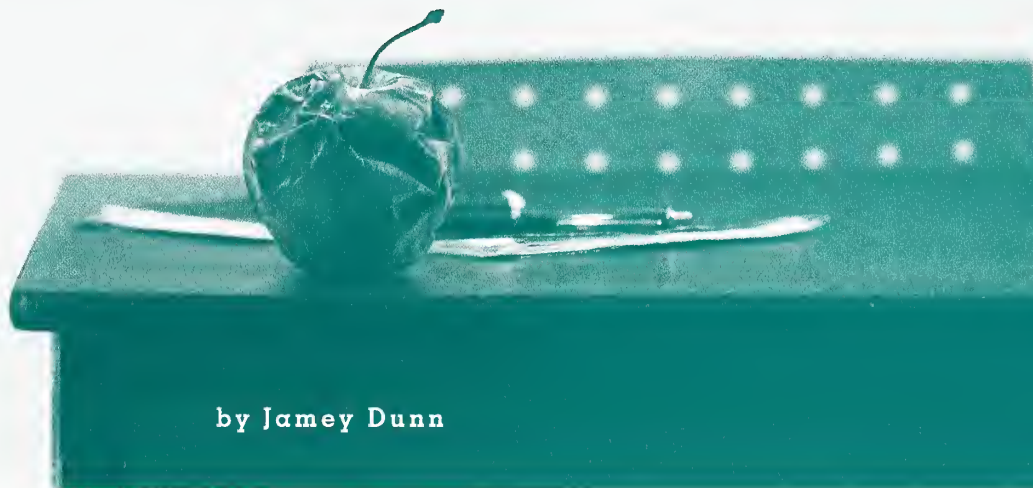
Contact Linda Anderson

Illinois Issues
(217) 206-6094 • lande3@uis.edu

*Illinois Issues 2006 Readership Survey

Empty desks

Gov. Pat Quinn estimates about 17,000 teachers and staff in elementary and high schools will be laid off if legislators do not approve a tax increase



by Jamey Dunn

When Tom Bremer got word that he would not be back teaching art at Elgin High School next year, he was frustrated. He taught there four years and worked with other art teachers at the school to create a photography, cartooning and animation program that teaches students to use new technology as well as writing and art criticism.

Bremer's students post their work online and blog about it on the class Web site. He says he encourages them to express themselves in the informal medium. So it makes sense that Bremer turned to blogging after he got the bad news. "When I came home that Friday, I was upset," Bremer says. "I just thought it would be a good idea to start voicing my story."

Bremer is one of thousands of Illinois teachers who received layoff notices in March. Gov. Pat Quinn estimates about 17,000 people working in elementary and high schools will be laid off if legislators do not approve a tax increase he says is

necessary to avoid \$1.3 billion in cuts to education. The Illinois State Board of Education estimates about 13,000 in K-12 education will lose their jobs even if the state makes no cuts. James Russell, a spokesman for the Illinois Association of School Boards, says while in some cases local property tax revenues are dropping, those 13,000 layoffs are primarily a result of districts not being able to count on state funds.

"Almost every district in the state is owed money from previous commitments and the previous budget. ... This year they don't know if they are going to get the money that they are owed."

A large share of the job cuts will include service professionals such as counselors and social workers, as well as noncertified workers such as custodians and lunchroom workers. Districts were required to notify teachers of layoffs by the end of March. However, they can wait longer to notify other employees. Not everybody who gets a notice will be

out of a job. Districts can ask employees to come back if they can find the money to pay them between now and next school year.

"They're trying to come up for their staffing numbers for next August based on what they think the state budget may be," says Matt Vanover, a spokesman for the State Board of Education.

As a result of the layoffs, students will face larger class sizes and fewer options when choosing their courses. Sports, fine arts classes, after-school programs and field trips will also be cut.

Teachers who received pink slips have to deal with the uncertainty of not knowing if they have a job next year. If they choose to stay in Illinois, they will be looking for work in a market with few jobs and thousands of potential new applicants.

But the same is true nationally. States across the country — California, Florida, Michigan, New York and South Carolina, to name a few — are making layoffs in

education to cope with the recession and budget deficits.

Bremer says he wanted to create a forum for those teachers. "I wanted it to be positive. I didn't want it to be just about me complaining." So he started a Web page called No Teacher Left Behind, where he writes about his experience and encourages others to send him their stories.

"When you see in the paper 13,000 teachers ... when you see that number, it doesn't really mean anything," he said. Bremer is trying to appeal to teachers throughout the nation to raise awareness about school funding and put human stories to the layoff numbers.

"We can't have teachers getting laid off every year and worrying about what's going to happen to their futures," Bremer says.

Bremer has been getting media attention, something he said he wasn't expecting. He was featured in a story in the *Daily Herald*, and many of the online comments were negative. One commenter sarcastically implied that Bremer's class was not necessary and should be cut. On his blog, Bremer invited the commenter to come participate in the class and then decide.

"Art, design, animation and technology are all around us; these are the things I teach. I love it, I'm proud of it, I deserve the money that I make, and I'll be sad to leave," Bremer wrote on his blog.

He says some students come to school primarily because they enjoy art classes. "I certainly believe that art classes get kids in the door. They show up because they look forward to that period in the day when they can create something." Bremer's district alone cut more than 20 art teachers and plans to reduce art, music and physical education to half-hour sessions.

Bremer says he wants to give politicians and the public an indication of the impact the layoffs have on teachers and students so they might understand the need for more funding.

"It's a political gamble to say that we need more money in education. You know it's bad if Gov. Quinn is asking for a tax increase in an election year," he says.

"Sometimes I wonder if teachers are being played as pawns. ... I don't know if that serves anyone's interest."

In his budget address Quinn gave lawmakers two options: Raise income tax rates by 1 percentage point, calling the increase a "surcharge for education," or accept drastic cuts for schools.

"I am making this cut [to education] with the greatest of reluctance and only because our current fiscal emergency leaves me no choice. These cuts are unavoidable. They're the consequence of a bipartisan refusal year after year to confront fiscal reality," Quinn said.

Quinn said \$1 billion in federal stimulus dollars deferred massive cuts last fiscal year, but that money is not coming again. "It was crystal clear that the votes are not there in the Congress to extend the federal stimulus for education. It's not going to happen. ... When I came back to Illinois [from Washington, D. C.], I told our budget people we can't write that in. We will not have a billion dollars that was very helpful to us in the past fiscal year, the one we're in now."

The increase would push the personal income tax from 3 percent to 4 percent and the corporate from 4.8 percent to 5.8 percent. Quinn's budget director, David Vaught, estimates it would generate \$2.8 billion, which he says Quinn intends to spend wholly on education.

Some of the money would go toward the approximately \$850 million in bills the state owes schools, according to the State Board of Education. After education funding is restored and the bills paid, about \$650 million would be left over.

Quinn has not said where that money would go. State Superintendent Christopher Koch asked for \$1 billion more in education funding for next fiscal year. Quinn spokesman Robert Reed says the governor plans to fund education at the same levels as the current fiscal year if his proposed tax increase passes. So if the State Board of Education projections are correct, even with a tax increase, thousands of jobs may still be cut.

However, the idea of raising taxes is gaining little support in the General Assembly, especially before the general election in November.

Last year, the Senate passed **House Bill 174**, which included an income tax increase and was intended to revamp the way education is funded. The bill was never called for a vote in the House because it lacked the votes to pass. So

"I certainly believe that art classes get kids in the door. They show up because they look forward to that period in the day when they can create something."

—Elgin High School art teacher Tom Bremer

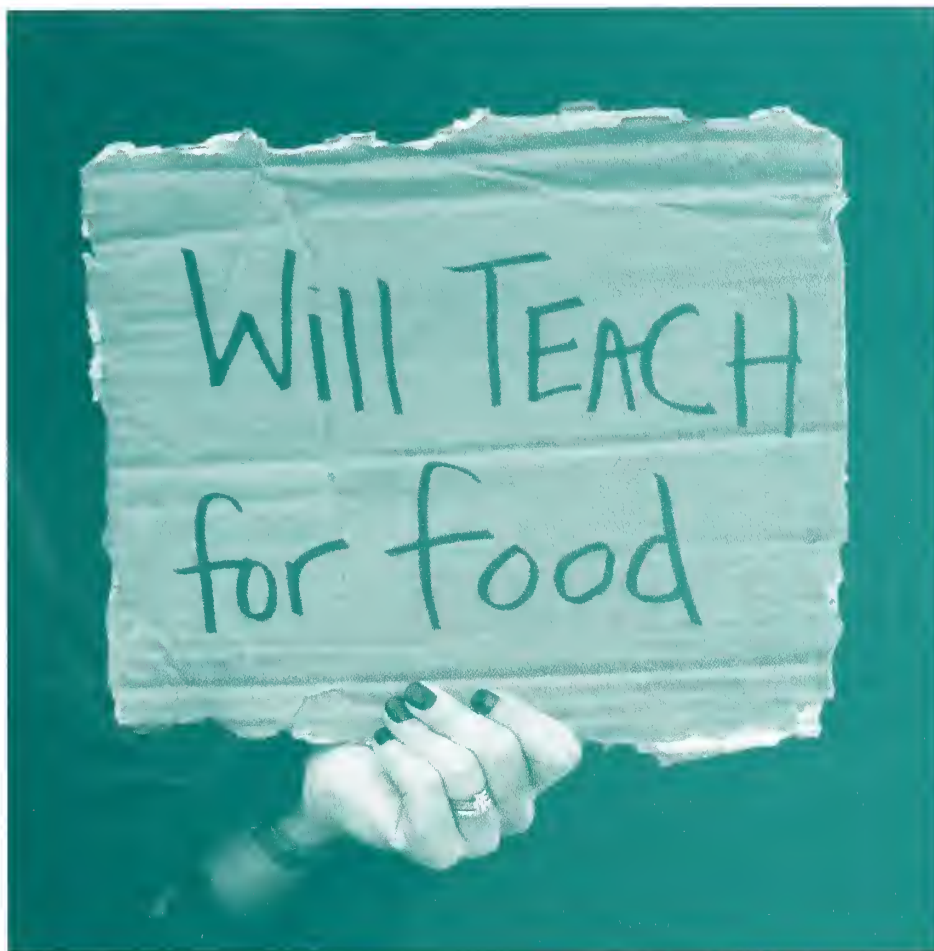
Senate President John Cullerton of Chicago says a new tax increase proposal would have to start in the House. Speaker Michael Madigan of Chicago, a fellow Democrat, says that a tax increase would not pass in the House without Republican support.

Republicans are skeptical of the governor's "surcharge for education" because Quinn proposed drastic cuts to human services during last year's budget negotiations. While many of them did not pan out, the state is millions of dollars behind on payments to social service providers.

"What's disappointing is, he essentially proposes to do the same things as he did last year. Proposed cuts that we know he's not going to make ... record borrowing or a tax increase and no reform to the system ... to the government that is fundamentally broken," says Sen. Matt Murphy, a Palatine Republican.

House Minority Leader Tom Cross of Oswego says he wants to see more details of Quinn's proposed tax increase. "How's he going to use the money? Who is it going to be assessed against? He says he needs a billion on education. What's he going to do with the balance? ... It lacks specificity all around the board," he says.

Cross accuses Quinn of using cuts and layoffs as a political tactic designed to upset voters. "No one wants to see K-12 decimated the way he's talking about. I would suggest to you that at the end of the day this isn't going to happen, and at the end of the day he will not introduce a budget that provides for [\$1.3 billion] in



cuts to education. This is a scare tactic. This is designed to get members of the General Assembly intimidated by voters."

David Comerford, a spokesman for the Illinois Federation of Teachers, says he disagrees that Quinn's proposed cuts are a ploy to push through a tax increase. He says that because education is such a large portion of the budget, cuts would have to be made there for any meaningful reduction.

"The problem isn't where you can cut. We've cut as far as we can cut. ... We need new revenue," he says. "Right now, instead of talking about what we can improve, we are talking about trying to hold on to what we have."

Some legislators are pushing to let schools stop complying with unfunded mandates, education requirements that the state does not provide the money to execute. These mandates can range from requiring a specific amount of physical education time each week to teaching certain historical or cultural subjects.

Many schools have already appealed to the legislature for permission to cut back

on physical education and the number of hours of behind-the-wheel instruction they must provide in driver's education programs.

"Some of those things cost real dollars, and maybe school districts, if they are given some relief over the next two to three years at least, they will be able to bring some of those teachers back using money that otherwise would go to some of these mandates that haven't been funded," says Republican Rep. Roger Eddy of Hutsonville.

The General Assembly has asked the State Board of Education to provide by the first of this month a list of mandates that could be temporarily suspended to save money.

"People are trying to figure out a way to consolidate — maybe knock off having [physical education] — save that money and put it somewhere else," Chicago Democrat Sen. James Meeks says. Meeks, who is also the chairman of the Senate Education Committee, says childhood obesity is a concern when considering such changes. He adds that, while suspending mandates could give

school districts more options on spending, the responsibility to fully fund education lies with the General Assembly.

It is into this bleak environment of proposed cuts to staff and classes that new graduates from education programs emerge this spring. Southern Illinois University Carbondale is in the first full year of a program called Week of Transition, meant to help new teachers make the leap from college to the classroom. Jan Waggoner, director of teacher education, says this year's focus is the challenging job market. "New teachers are facing from 200 or 300 to 600 applications for a single job," she says.

Waggoner says she encourages new graduates to substitute teach and volunteer in schools as tutors or read to students. She says being known in a district could lead to an interview for a teaching position. "Before you get to the interview stage, you've got to get on that short list."

Waggoner adds that extra time spent in the classroom will turn the students she advises into better teachers. "The more time that teacher candidates are in schools, the more equipped they are to having a more successful beginning of their teaching careers."

Joelle Beck got a year of teaching under her belt before she got her layoff notice. She had come back to teach high school English in O'Fallon, the district where she graduated from high school. Her family is there, and she and her husband are expecting their first baby in the fall. She says while she doesn't want to leave O'Fallon, she and many of her young peers who also lost their jobs are looking for work in Missouri.

"I really love what I do. I do bring energy. We're energetic. We're right out of college. We are excited. We want to be teaching," she says. "You do lose something when you take out a whole generation of teachers."

Bremer says he plans to stay in Illinois. He is looking for work and says he can't count on the Elgin district to bring him back next fall. "I think there is a very, very slim hope. I cannot hold on to hope without being realistic. I think that would be irresponsible.

"If the state comes through with money, I am sure there's a chance. ... I am certainly not waiting for the phone call." □

On taxation

by Rachel Wells

Taxing services: An old idea re-emerges in the face of economic peril

The idea of the state charging a sales tax on a whole range of services, such as auto repairs, dry cleaning and haircuts, was a nonstarter in the late 1980s. Brought up again in recent years, it's been brushed aside in the legislature session after session — until last spring when Illinois faced a record-breaking budget shortfall of more than \$11 billion.

As Gov. Pat Quinn threatened deep cuts to human services, the idea of taxing user services — proposed as part of a multifaceted revenue package — progressed in the Senate, where lawmakers approved a compromise version of a near decade-old plan. But the legislation was never called for a vote in the House, where senators who've already put themselves in political peril say it must re-emerge if they're going to readdress the issue.

The same atmosphere causing several other states to look at more service taxes — a structural deficit and a nasty recession — helped the plan gain momentum

last spring. But the idea of an expanded sales tax base is nothing new, and it's rooted in a fundamental change in the country's economy.

Since the mid-1970s, the national economy has gone from less than 30 percent service-based to more than 43 percent service-based by 2008, according to Illinois' Commission on Government Forecasting and Accountability's Service Taxes 2009 report. Over the same period, Illinois' service industry went from about 32 percent to almost 50 percent of the state's gross domestic product.

How the state brings in revenue, proponents say, should mirror the shift from goods to services. "It's a real basic principle. It's called math," says Ralph Martire, executive director of the Center for Tax and Budget Accountability. "Your tax system, if it's going to work using capitalist economic principals ... means it has to be both stable and responsive. ... You want your taxes to grow where your economy grows."

Most economists agree that a broad sales tax base is best — in theory anyway. "From the standpoint of an economist ... there's no difference between consuming a good or a service. ... So, theoretically, there's no reason to tax one and not the other," says Fred Giertz, an economist with the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois. The fact that service taxes are less common than taxes on goods is simply a matter of history and tradition, he adds.

Illinois first instituted a sales tax in 1933, when American consumer spending was primarily goods-based. As manufacturers in the 1970s began outsourcing production of those goods to foreign countries, they became less expensive. "It's a more modern economy," says economist Richard Dye, also with the institute. "[We can buy] the same goods out of less of our total budget. ... Then we can have extra money to spend on the health club or the hairdresser."

That shift has affected state coffers. "Sales tax revenues are growing more slowly than the economy as a whole," says Mike Klemens, spokesman for the Illinois Department of Revenue. Adjusted for inflation, sales tax revenues have remained virtually flat since 1985 and have been declining steadily since fiscal year 2000. In fiscal year 2008, sales tax revenues were about equivalent to those in the mid-1990s and weren't too far above where they were in 1985.

"Generally, from a policy standpoint, [the service sector] is one of the places where there's capacity in the state tax code," Klemens says, adding that "it's probably not the panacea that it gets trotted out [to be] all the time."

The Department of Revenue estimates that service taxes could bring in anywhere from \$3.7 billion to \$6.5 billion. But those figures include medical and legal services — areas that are often excluded for social reasons and that have strong lobbying organizations. Legal services alone would generate between \$307 million and \$586 million.

With a tax on 17 of 168 possible service categories, Illinois comes in well below the 56 services taxed by the average state, according to the Commission on Government Forecasting and Accountability's report. It's that narrow base that expansion proponents say is hurting Illinois' sales tax revenue stream. On top of a flat growth rate, Illinois' sales tax — its second largest single source of income — takes a hit with every economic downturn. As the recession continued to wear on the state's already poor fiscal condition, sales tax revenues dropped by more than \$440 million, or by 6.1 percent, in fiscal year 2009.

But that kind of volatility doesn't have to happen, Martire says. In theory, the narrower a tax base, the more susceptible that revenue is to an economic downturn.

That idea is propelling sales tax expansion proposals in other states, too, says Sujit CanagaRetna, senior fiscal analyst with the Council on State Governments. "Obviously you have about two or three things going on," CanagaRetna says. "Right off the bat, you have an economy that's still recovering from the great recession. ... Not only did the pie shrink, but you also have an environment where this particular source [of revenue] was

shrinking even before the recession came upon us."

It's that "double whammy" that several states have tried to avoid by expanding the sales tax — not only in this recession but also in the 2001 economic downturn, CanagaRetna says. "Bottom line, more and more states are going to be forced to look at this as a viable strategy just because of the way the economy has changed."

Some states have incrementally expanded their sales tax bases with success, but others' plans have failed. Michigan Gov. Jennifer Granholm is now pushing a major expansion along with a lower rate, despite the fact that a similar plan implemented in 2007 was almost immediately repealed. And when then-Illinois Gov. James Thompson proposed service taxes in 1987, Florida constituents were slamming their lawmakers for an expansion that would be repealed before the year's end.

"It was never taken very seriously. There was a poor reaction from the public," says Doug Whitley, now president and CEO of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce but then president of the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois and chairman of Thompson's revenue review committee. "[Florida] really took the wind out of the sails in Illinois."

More recently, Sen. James Meeks, a Chicago Democrat, pushed service taxes as part of a comprehensive tax and education funding reform measure, **Senate Bill 750**. The "tax swap" legislation features an income tax increase for individuals and corporations, as well as property tax relief. In the original **SB 750**, 119 service categories would be taxed, ranging from hairdressing to parking garages to massage services. The expanded sales tax would bring in an additional \$2.4 billion, according to Center for Tax and Budget Accountability estimates, which placed the entire reform package at about \$7.3 billion of additional funds.

While Meeks calls **SB 750** the ideal bill for raising revenues, he couldn't find enough support for it to pass one, let alone both, chambers. And so entered **House Bill 174** to the scene last spring. Among other changes, **HB 174** reduced the number of taxable service categories to 39. Projected revenue increases were \$500 million to \$720 million from the sales tax, out of more than \$5 billion in

The Department of Revenue estimates that service taxes could bring in anywhere from \$3.7 billion to \$6.5 billion. But those figures include medical and legal services — areas that are often excluded for social reasons and have strong lobbying organizations.

overall increased revenues, according to Martire's organization.

"[We] scaled it back because the more services you tax, the more people you have here complaining about the fact that they're being taxed. So we picked the ones we thought people could most support," Meeks says. "At some point, you have to start looking at what you can pass, not necessarily what's the best, but what you can pass."

HB 174 did pass, but only in the Senate. "Now the battleground is in the House," Meeks says. "I don't expect to bring it up again until after it passes the House."

House sponsor Rep. David Miller, a Lynwood Democrat, says that lawmakers attempted to limit **HB 174** to include only luxury-type services, such as dating services, pet grooming and tanning parlors. But part of the problem in trying to expand the sales tax is that some services are unintentionally included, he says.

"There's certain coding, so if you would say, for instance, hair care, then it may have included all aspects of hair care as opposed to some high-end type procedure to be done," Miller says. "The attempt may have been to consolidate, but actually if that bill is going to move any further, some of the coding issues it was going to tax include industries and services that it was not intended to."

Those unintentional consequences are part of why the National Federation of Independent Business in Illinois opposes the idea. "[With **HB 174**] Senate Democrats said they tried to look at what they called luxury items, but included in that are ... bowling ... laundry. ... It's not



taxes on services

really going after the people who have the ability to pay,” says Kim Clarke Maisch, director of the organization.

“We are adamantly opposed,” she says. “The service tax is one of the few areas where Illinois has a lower tax burden than our neighboring states.”

A service tax might not drive repair shops or movie theaters across state lines, but other types of businesses such as financial trading might respond to a greater tax burden by changing location, Whitley says. “Business services are highly transferable.” And many of those businesses are in Chicago, where sales taxes are already the highest in the nation.

Often, though, the broader-base strategy is paired with lower tax rates, which mean less government influence on consumer choice, U of I economist Dye says. “The higher the rate of a tax, the more there’s a distortion — a higher tax on one item rather than another puts a price on choice.”

But taxing services that weren’t taxed before still means higher costs to consumers for those services, and sales taxes are regressive, Clarke Maisch says. She suggests a situation of a middle- or low-income Illinoisan in need of car repairs.

“Labor is usually the most expensive part. [With a service tax] there is a significant increase to consumers, and it’s the small business owner who’s at the front line who has to explain why their service [cost] just went up.” **HB 174** does not include a tax on automotive repair, although its predecessor, **SB 750**, did.

For businesses that use other services to produce an end product, a common concern is pyramiding, a layering of taxes eventually passed on to consumers. “I know that that was one of their intentions on [**HB**] 174,” Clarke Maisch says about lawmakers’ attempt to remove business-to-business services from the proposed legislation. “It’s almost impossible to achieve because ... it might say something innocuous, but when you drill down, there are hundreds of services under those codes. ... It’s hard to say with 100 percent certainty that we don’t have any business-to-business transactions.”

Martire insists that pyramiding would not happen under the proposed legislation. “The only thing we propose taxing is final services to consumers,” Martire says. He says a business might be that final consumer in some instances, but those incidents would be similar to a

company purchasing software off a shelf.

Regardless, service taxes worry businesses. Eighty-two percent of Illinois’ National Federation of Independent Business members opposed service taxes in a poll taken early last year. Lawmakers often cite that kind of strong opposition as a reason why an expansion hasn’t passed. “You have a lot of strong lobbying for those services that don’t want to be taxed,” Meeks says.

Upcoming elections can also influence a lawmaker’s decision. “If you decide to make a political point of pointing them out, you have hundreds of examples [of a tax increase] ... with one ‘yes’ vote,” says Todd Maisch, vice president of government affairs for the Illinois Chamber of Commerce.

“Political marketing often trumps tax philosophy and tax policy,” says Whitley, whose organization opposes service taxes. He adds that any broad-based, low-rate and uniform policy may appear sound, but its merits are easily eroded over time by exemptions and credits. It may be a great concept, he says, but “being able to have the political will and fortitude to protect that philosophy is another matter.” □

Taxing districts: Illinois has more than any other state

by Rachel Wells

By a wide margin, Illinois tops the nation in the number of local governments within its borders. While some elected officials call for consolidation and more efficiency, others insist Illinois' current system allows for a more democratic and accountable set of governments.

With 6,994 local taxing bodies under its umbrella, Illinois outpaces Pennsylvania, which ranks second among the states for the most local governing entities, by more than 2,100 local governments, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

Illinois' large number of taxing districts is a huge problem, proponents of government consolidation say.

"The bottom line is, with America in its deepest economic trouble since the Great Depression and taxpayer anger at an all-time high, we have got to rein in these rogue taxing bodies and pare down the government, not only to save money but to provide more coordinated, or better coordinated, systems of government," Sen. Kirk Dillard says. During his 2010 run for governor, the Hinsdale Republican proposed establishing a panel to recommend ways to consolidate Illinois' local government structure.

This spring, Marengo Democrat Jack Franks sponsored a bill, which had not been called for a vote as of press time, that would allow for the study of consolidating Illinois' layered governments. He says tradition contributes to the difficulties of consolidating local governments.

"Change is hard in any organization. Overcoming inertia oftentimes is the most difficult thing to do," Franks says.

Indeed, townships, one of the most controversial forms of local government, have existed in the United States since the early days of the pilgrims. However, townships weren't adopted in Illinois until 1850, more than 30 years after statehood, according to Township Officials of Illinois. Now, 85 of Illinois' 102 counties contain township governments.

"It is the democracy, the basic democracy, that our residents enjoy. Our township [residents] can have a direct say in their local government," says Bryan Smith, executive director of Township Officials of Illinois. "It's probably the one form of government that if they have a specific need in a community, the township is the best able and equipped to respond to that need."

Smith says Illinois' 1,432 townships often provide services, such as offering emergency food and shelter or hosting job fairs, that other government entities aren't able or don't want to provide. "Especially with the downturn in the economy, more and more people are turning to their township governments."

But the bulk of Illinois' local governments come in the form of 3,249 special districts, which include library, park, fire protection, sanitary sewer and mosquito abatement.

Many of those single-purpose districts formed because of borrowing limits, says Northwestern University law school professor Dawn Clark Netsch, former comptroller and delegate to the 1970 Constitutional Convention, where Illinois' numerous local governments were a topic of debate.

The 1870 Constitution limited local governments' debt capacity, but as society progressed and residents required such services as utilities and water treatment, "those debt limits just didn't keep up with the changing condition," Netsch says. Municipalities couldn't borrow enough to pay for new capital expenses without limiting their borrowing power for other established needs, so they asked the Illinois legislature to create special districts with their own taxing power.

The 1970 Constitution sought to change that and allowed for communities to abolish townships by way of referendum.

Netsch says that some units of local government continue to exist because

those outside urban boundaries feel that their taxes would otherwise go to programs they don't need or use, such as services for the poor.

"Many people prefer to live in unincorporated areas," says Marion Mayor Robert Butler, a 1970 Constitutional Convention delegate who served on the local government committee. "For whatever reason, they like to be more in a rural setting than an urban-type setting. ... You don't pay city taxes when you're in an unincorporated area. Sometimes the city tax might be considered onerous to them."

Boundary issues have also contributed to Illinois' high number of special districts, Netsch says. A water district or transportation service, for instance, might serve more than just those inside city borders.

Or, a smaller community might be forced to create a new district if it's too far away from an existing district. "People will set up a sewer district because they are not a part of a city or a village government where city sewer facilities are available," Butler says.

"[Special districts] do serve a purpose, and there's no question people would not have these various services if they did not have a district set up," Butler says, adding that inefficiencies do exist. "When you have layer upon layer of units of government, you're probably duplicating in some fashion, [and] your costs are going to be higher," he says.

The Illinois Municipal League remains neutral on the subject of consolidation or elimination of townships and special districts, but says municipalities are sometimes open to the idea. "Cities and counties have both expressed willingness to take on additional functions, but generally speaking [those officials] haven't wanted to force other units of government to give up their powers," Larry Frang, league executive director, says. He adds that the local governments he represents already have tight budgets

and plenty of responsibilities, which keep them from actively pursuing or encouraging consolidation.

Nancy Krumwiede, president of the Illinois Association of County Officials, says multiple layers of government can cause some residents confusion, but they also allow more people to have a direct say in government.

"There are so many different voices in government that can be heard," she says. "It's not just a core group making the decisions." Krumwiede adds that consolidation in some instances would pose challenges to the people those governments serve if they are forced to

travel long distances to meet with officials or acquire services.

While advocates for maintaining particular taxing bodies say they are more democratic, Dillard says they can harbor "dynasties" and "nepotism."

"The closures haven't happened, sadly, because of politics," Dillard says. "The minute we try to consolidate school districts, or even harder yet, get rid of units of local government, people who are generally politically connected are going to come flooding legislators' offices saying, 'You can't do that.'"

Franks calls many of Illinois' districts a form of "fiefdom," while Illinois

Policy Institute CEO John Tillman says Illinois' numerous governments are an avenue ideal for "special insiders," "deal making" and "favours." The thousands of governmental units in Illinois create thousands more taxpayer-funded jobs held by people who become advocates "to maintain the status quo."

Some areas may need townships and special districts, Franks says, but more populous areas sometimes double their efforts when one governmental entity has grown to fully encompass another.

Franks says: "One size does not fit all. But I also know that we need to have this discussion." □



TRI STATES
PUBLIC RADIO
WIUM 91.3 & WIUW 89.5



Whether you're making
the news or just
want to stay informed —
listen online at
tristatesradio.com

WIUM 91.3 FM — WIUW 89.5 FM

News Department : rg-egger@wiu.edu —or— 800.895.2912

**DID YOU
KNOW?**

Our readers are loyal.

75%*

of them have subscribed
for more than 4 years.

32%*

have been subscribers for
more than 10 years.

Illinois Issues

The state's leading public affairs magazine

<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

**Illinois Issues 2006 Readership Survey*

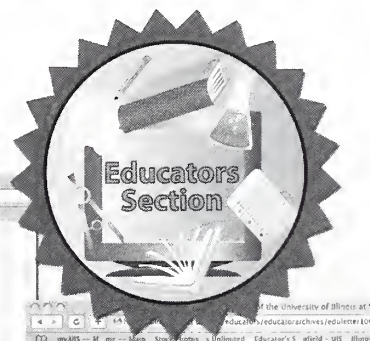
Tools to train tomorrow's leaders in civic engagement

Check out the
Educators Section
at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>
for ways to use *Illinois Issues*'
free web edition in the classroom!

- Article summaries
- Discussion starters
- Suggested classroom activities
- Links to resources

A resource that incorporates
the state's learning standards
and use of technology.

Supports civic education!



Useful resources:
Illinois Issues Blog
Illinois Channel
Illinois First Amendment Center

Illinois State Learning Standards
Language Arts
Reading
STATE GOAL 1. Read with understanding and fluency.

A. Apply word analysis and vocabulary skills to comprehend selections.
B. Apply reading strategies to improve understanding and fluency.
C. Comprehend a broad range of reading materials.

Literature
STATE GOAL 2. Read and understand literature representative of various societies, eras and ideas.

B. Read and interpret a variety of literary works.

Writing
STATE GOAL 3. Write to communicate for a variety of purposes.

A. Use correct grammar, spelling, punctuation, capitalization and structure.
B. Compose well-organized and coherent writing for specific purposes and audiences.
C. Communicate ideas in writing to accomplish a variety of purposes.

Listening & Speaking
STATE GOAL 4. Listen and speak effectively in a variety of situations.

B. Speak effectively using language appropriate to the situation and audience.

PEOPLE

Woman to head Tollway

Kristi LaFleur has been selected as executive director of the Illinois Tollway, becoming the first woman to serve in the position.

LaFleur, who stepped into her new role in April, since 2009 had served as Gov. Pat Quinn's deputy chief for economic development and recovery, organizing Illinois' American Recovery and Reinvestment Act programs and serving as a liaison for the state's economic development and transportation agencies.

"The board is confident that LaFleur has the experience and skills to accomplish this ambitious new set of goals," Board of Directors chairwoman Paula Wolff said in a prepared statement. Quinn gave the board a charge to develop a robust economic development program for the region.

The Illinois Tollway maintains and operates 286 miles of interstate tollways in 12 counties in northern Illinois.

New U.S. attorney named

James Lewis has been nominated by President Barack Obama as the U.S. attorney for the Central District of Illinois. If approved by the U.S. Senate, he would replace **Jeffrey Lang**, who was named interim U.S. attorney when **Rodger Heaton** resigned in September to return to private practice.

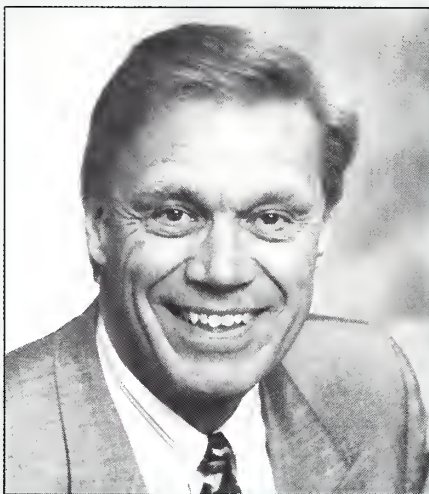
Lewis has served as an assistant U.S. attorney in the Central District of Illinois since 1983, and he has served as the chief of the civil division for more than 20 years. Previously, he worked as a trial attorney in the civil division at the U.S. Department of Justice, as a law professor and as a civil rights lawyer in Mississippi.

U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin announced in March that President Obama nominated Lewis.

"James Lewis has served in the Central District of Illinois for over 25 years," Durbin said in a release. "I was honored to recommend his name to President Obama, and am confident that he will bring a strong work ethic and great depth of knowledge to the position of U.S. attorney."

The central district office is headquartered in Springfield and has branches in Peoria, Rock Island and Urbana.

OBITS



Richard "Dick" Klemm

Richard "Dick" Klemm

The former state senator from Crystal Lake died March 22 in a Woodstock hospital. He was 77 years old.

The McHenry County Republican served as state representative from 1981 through 1993, when he became a senator for the 32nd district. While in the Senate, Klemm served on the local gov-

ernment, elections and commerce and industry committees and served as chairman of the executive committee. Klemm retired from the General Assembly in February 2003 after being diagnosed with cancer.

"Sen. Klemm was a fighter in every sense of the word," says Sen. Pamela Althoff, who was mentored by Klemm when she took over his senate seat. "His life was devoted to fighting for the families and taxpayers of our communities. We are all truly fortunate and blessed for his service."

Klemm also served stints as a township board member, president of the Crystal Lake school board and chairman of the McHenry County Board.

Klemm served in the U.S. Army from 1955 until 1962 and is a graduate of Purdue University.

For 33 years, Klemm owned the Food Warming Equipment Co. After selling the company in 2005, he served as the chief executive officer and chairman of the board until his death.

Rachel Wells

Hamos appointed as Healthcare chief



Julie Hamos

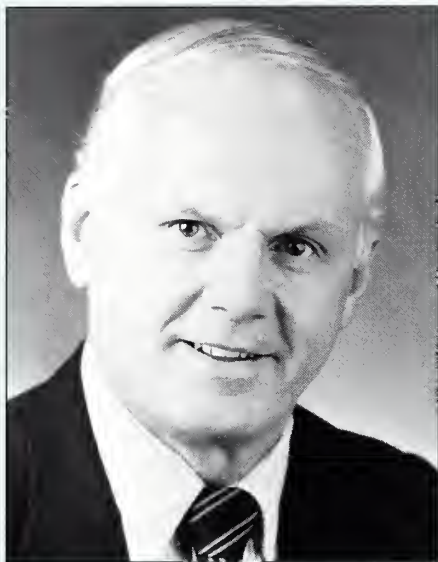
Julie Hamos is the new director of the Department of Healthcare and Family Services. She replaces **Barry Maram**, a former member of **Rod Blagojevich's** Cabinet who presided over the impeached ex-governor's controversial expansion of health care.

Gov. **Pat Quinn** appointed Hamos, a Wilmette Democrat who has represented the 18th District since 1999, in mid-April as the agency's director. He also praised Maram for "his fine record of service and accomplishment."

"Julie has served our state with professionalism and integrity for many years and is a longtime champion of improving access to health care," Quinn said in a prepared release. "In this new role, she will continue to be a strong advocate for families in need of better, more efficient and patient-centered health care. Julie will also be instrumental in the Illinois implementation of President Obama's ground-breaking health care reform plan."

Hamos said in the release: "I am honored to serve the people of Illinois as director of Healthcare and Family Services and thank Gov. Quinn for this opportunity. I am a longtime advocate for expanding access to health care and believe in improving the quality of health care for Illinois families and protecting patients."

In 2003, Hamos advocated for the Consumer Guide to Health Care Act, which requires hospitals and outpatient surgical treatment centers to disclose data on key measures for 30 medical procedures — part of a national movement to help consumers make comparisons based on quality health care data, according to the release. This year, Hamos sponsored the Illinois Health Information Exchange and Technology Act,



John Guyon

John Guyon

The former chancellor at Southern Illinois University Carbondale died March 17. He was 78 years old.

Guyon, who served as SIUC's chancellor from 1987-1996, arrived at the university in 1974 as a chemistry professor. He later became the first dean of the College of Science, and in 1976, became associate vice president for research and graduate dean for the campus.

"I think that he will be remembered for his belief in diversity," says SIU President Glenn Poshard. "He helped build the university to represent the face of Illinois and its rich diversity."

During his tenure, SIUC became the first American university to offer an off-campus program in Nakajo, Japan, in May 1988, and in 1989, a new \$7 million campus was built there. The university also launched another distance-learning initiative for health care students, allowing them to attend classes via video sessions with other area community colleges.

Guyon also focused on minority recruitment and advancement. The Black Alumni Group and University Women's Professional Advancement were founded during his term, and the Carbondale NAACP presented him with its first Image Award in 1989 for his work on behalf of minorities. The Illinois Committee on Black Concerns in Higher Education also honored him that same year for bringing African-Americans into policy-making and administrative positions.

In August 2009, Guyon was honored with the dedication of the 200-seat John C. Guyon Auditorium in SIUC's expanded and renovated Morris Library.

"His greatest contribution was integrity," Poshard says. "He was an excellent administrator and brought a lot of integrity to his job. He was certainly a credit to the Office of Chancellor and this institution."

Nicole Harbour

For more information about people see the *Illinois Issues* Web site at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

which would establish a public-private Health Information Exchange Authority.

Previously, Hamos worked as the legislative counsel and policy adviser to then-State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, before being appointed director of the Child Support Division. She lost a bid for Congress this year.

She received a bachelor's degree from Washington University in St. Louis and a law degree from George Washington University in Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, Maram's seven years atop one of state government's largest social-service agencies was not without controversy.

He oversaw Blagojevich's decision to increase enrollment in the Family Care health care program without legislative input, an initiative that became part of the General Assembly's case to impeach the ex-governor in 2009.

More recently, Maram was cited earlier this year by state Executive Inspector General James A. Wright for "inadequate oversight" of ex-chief of staff Tamara Hoffman. She lost her state post after Wright accused her of "arguably decadent personal behavior," chronic tardiness and viewing pornography on her state computer.

Maram made the decision to leave on his own, and it was not related to the executive inspector general's investigation into Hoffman's alleged wrongdoing, said Mike Claffey, a spokesman for the department.

"He was in this very tough, demanding position for seven years," Claffey said. "There have been tremendous achievements, and he felt this was a good time for him to resign."

Among Maram's credits was a 2005 award by the National Governor's Association for distinguished service. He also played a role in leveraging \$6.2 billion in federal funds for state hospitals and other Medicaid providers during his time heading the health care department.

State rep arrested

Rep. Ron Stephens, a Greenville Republican, was arrested in March on charges of driving under the influence and improper lane usage, according to Decatur police.

Stephens allegedly had a blood alcohol content of 0.10, above the legal limit of 0.08. An officer stopped Stephens after witnessing him crossing the center line of U.S. 51 in Decatur.

Stephens, a House minority leader, has served in the General Assembly since 1985, except for two years, from 1991 to 1993, after he lost an election.

"I was stopped by the Macon County sheriff's police and received citations for improper lane usage and driving under the influence. I cooperated fully with the police officers, was ticketed and released later that evening," Stephens said in a written statement. "I exercised poor judgment that evening, and I am truly sorry for my actions. I also regret having disappointed my family, friends and those I represent. I take full responsibility and stand ready to face the consequences of my actions."



Write us

Your comments are welcome.
Please keep them brief (250 words).
We reserve the right to excerpt them.

Letters to the Editor
Illinois Issues
One University Plaza, MS HRB 10
University of Illinois Springfield
Springfield, IL 62704-5407
e-mail address on Internet:
heupel.dana@uis.edu

And visit *Illinois Issues* online by going to:
<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

DID YOU KNOW?

65%*

Of our readers consider the *Roster* an important part of their decision to subscribe to *Illinois Issues*.

All subscribers receive the *2010 Roster of State Government Officials* as part of their subscription. For additional Roster copies or subscriptions, return the cards in this issue or call 217-206-6084.

Illinois Issues

The state's leading public affairs magazine

<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

**Illinois Issues* 2006 Readership Survey

Illinois Farm Bureau builds bridges between rural and urban people



Understanding the unique needs of all areas of Illinois makes our state legislators better lawmakers. IFB's Adopt a Legislator Program links urban legislators with rural farm families.

Farmer members of Illinois Farm Bureau visit the districts of urban legislators. Through on-farm visits our state lawmakers get a unique perspective of life in the country, and help build lifetime bonds.

For more information go to:

www.ilfb.org



IFB thanks those legislators who extended their hand of friendship through the Adopt a Legislator Program:

Luis Arroyo, Suzanne Bassi, Maria Antonia (Toni) Berrios, James Brosnahan, Daniel Burke, Will Burns, Linda Chapa La Via, Annazette Collins, Marlow Colvin, Elizabeth Coulson, Fred Crespo, M. Maggie Crotty, John Cullerton, John D'Amico, Monique Davis, William Davis, William Delgado, Kenneth Dunkin, Jim Durkin, Sara Feigenholtz, Mary Flowers, LaShawn Ford, John Fritchey, Paul Froehlich, Susan Garrett, Esther Golar, Deborah Graham, Julie Hamos, Don Harmon, Greg Harris, Rickey Hendon, Elizabeth Hernandez, Constance Howard, Randall Hultgren, Mattie Hunter, Kevin Joyce, Dan Kotowski, Carolyn Krause, Louis Lang, Kimberly Lightford, Joseph Lyons, Edward Maloney, Iris Martinez, Karen May, Michael McAuliffe, Kevin McCarthy, Susana Mendoza, David Miller, Robert Molaro, Rosemary Mulligan, Antonio Munoz, Matt Murphy, Elaine Nekritz, Harry Osterman, Carole Pankau, Sandra Pihos, Christine Radogno, Kwame Raoul, Al Riley, Robert Rita, Carol Ronen, Martin Sandoval, Angelo (Skip) Saviano, Jeffrey Schoenberg, Cynthia Soto, Heather Steans, Donne Trotter, Arthur Turner, Louis Viverito, Mark Walker, Eddie Washington, Karen Yarbrough and Michael Zalewski

p113G9

Charles N. Wheeler III



Illinois' budget woes could undercut its application for federal education dollars

by Charles N. Wheeler III

Can Illinois finish in the money in Round II of Race to the Top?

The answer could hinge on budget decisions that state lawmakers will make in coming days.

At stake is as much as \$400 million to underwrite efforts to improve Illinois schools under Race to the Top, the education centerpiece of the Obama administration.

The federal program aims at strengthening the nation's schools in four areas, according to the U.S. Department of Education: adopting standards and assessments that prepare students for success in college and the workplace; creating information systems to measure student growth and improve teaching; enhancing recruitment, development and retention of effective teachers and principals; and turning around the lowest-performing schools.

In the initial competition, Illinois was among 16 finalists out of 40 states and the District of Columbia that submitted applications for \$4.35 billion in federal aid but eventually wound up fifth. Only two states were awarded grants: Delaware, \$100 million, and Tennessee, \$500 million.

Applications for the second round, worth about \$3.4 billion, are due June 1.

While the five reviewers who scored Illinois' initial application generally praised its quality and the ambitious

Gov. Pat Quinn's proposed budget would slash education funding by \$1.2 billion, slightly more than 16 percent.

reform agenda set out, they voiced reservations that state education leaders hope to address in crafting the new version.

Overall, Illinois averaged 423.8 on a 500-point scale, about 85 percent. But the state fared poorly in two of the six general categories used in the assessment, one dealing with the state's ability to carry out reforms over the long haul (74.6 percent), and the other encompassing teacher and principal evaluations based on student performance (79.7 percent). One reviewer questioned whether the State Board of Education — down about a third in staff over the last decade — has the personnel to implement the far-reaching plan itself or to manage key reforms if they're handed off to regional and local organizations.

"The state may be attempting to do too much, with too little time and too little human capital," the reviewer observed.

Several reviewers had serious questions about the state's ability to measure student learning in the wake of what one

termed "a catastrophic failure" of the standard achievement test introduced in 2006. While a new assessment model is being developed and is to be phased in during the next few years, its absence now could slow down the pace of reform, cautioned a reviewer.

The reviewers also faulted the state for not requiring annual evaluations of tenured teachers, with a goal of firing ineffective ones more quickly. Legislation enacted in January requires that student performance be a significant component of teacher and principal evaluations starting in 2012 but leaves many of the specifics up to local school officials, which "may provide wiggle room to possibly game the system," one reviewer wrote.

All the reviewers mentioned the lukewarm support from local school districts and teachers' unions, which could limit the plan's statewide impact. Only about 40 percent of the state's 869 districts signed on, and fewer than a third of the locals representing teachers in the participating school districts endorsed the plan, despite its endorsement by leaders of the state's two major teachers' unions.

The union reluctance "may indicate a strong potential for no cooperation and perhaps resistance from local teachers' unions in some or even a majority" of the participating districts, one reviewer wrote.

Cautioned another: "It is unclear ... to what extent the state union leadership will work with its local unions ... to increase commitment among those unions who have not endorsed" the state application.

State schools Supt. Christopher Koch acknowledged the concern. "While we had sign-on from districts representing more than 74 percent of all students and more than 80 percent of low-income students, the reviewers focused on the large number of districts that did not sign," he said in a message to school officials seeking their help in getting more school districts and local unions to join the plan.

Some districts may not have signed the initial application because of the tight timeline involved. Final details of Race to the Top were announced in mid-November, with a mid-January submission deadline. With several more months to weigh participation, local districts could be more inclined to sign up, suggested Mary Fergus, a board spokeswoman.

Local school boards also might be concerned about taking on additional costs for the reforms. Districts endorsing the plan, for example, will have to adopt the new student performance-based evaluation system for teachers and principals more quickly.

While Koch and other education leaders work to shore up the state's application for the June 1 deadline, the state's budget woes could undercut their efforts.

Among the factors for which the reviewers gave the state high marks were its commitment to making school funding a priority, with several noting that education's share of the state budget has risen in recent years.

Other reviewers lauded the state's early childhood education programs. "Illinois has been a leader in recognizing the importance of early childhood development and education for later academic success," wrote one reviewer. "Illinois serves a higher percentage of 3-year-olds than any other state and has extensive services for infants and toddlers."

Yet Gov. Pat Quinn's proposed budget would slash education funding by \$1.2 billion, slightly more than 16 percent, including a \$54 million cut in early childhood programs. Moreover, in recent weeks school districts across the state have announced plans to eliminate preschool programs in anticipation of less state money.

Quinn says the education cuts can be avoided if the legislature raises income tax rates by 1 percentage point — to 4 percent for individuals and 5.8 percent for corporations — but lawmakers are fearful of raising taxes in an election year and equally loath to reduce school funding. That dilemma suggests a reprise of last spring's budget fiasco: approve spending more dollars than the state will have, let the comptroller figure out who gets paid and who gets stiffed, and hope that the folks who review Illinois' next Race to the Top application won't notice the fiscal chicanery. □

Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting program at the University of Illinois Springfield.

AARP

HEALTH / FINANCES / CONNECTING / GIVING / ENJOYING

Should Illinois nursing homes be safe? Should the residents get the treatment they need?

Of course. That's why AARP supports SB 685, a bill that will require just that. We urge you to support these initiatives by calling your state legislators today at 1-888-616-3322 and telling them to vote "YES" on SB 685. It will help protect the ones you love in nursing homes.

Call your state legislators at 1-888-616-3322 and urge them to support SB 685.

PAID ADVERTISEMENT

Essence of Illinois



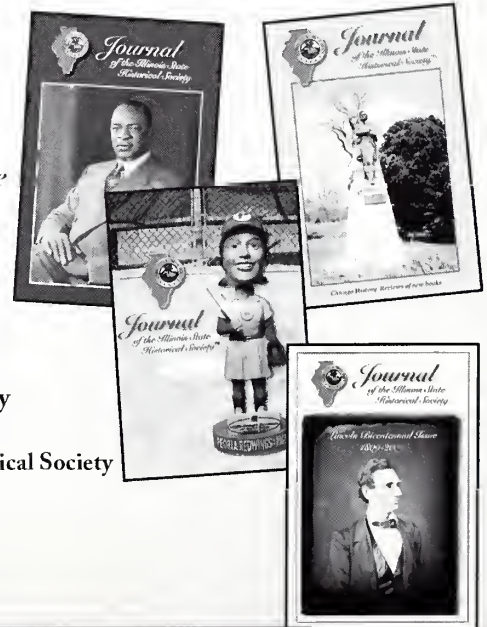
*The Journal
of the Illinois State
Historical Society*

**Since 1908, the leading scholarly
publication of Prairie State history**

Published by the Illinois State Historical Society

Editor: Eileen M. McMahon

Book Editor: Christopher Manning



**For membership and subscription information,
Call 217-525-2781**

or visit the Society on the web at: www.historyillinois.org

2010 Roster of State Government Officials

ADDRESSES • PHONE NUMBERS • FAX NUMBERS
E-MAIL ADDRESSES • WEB SITE ADDRESSES
PLUS, PHOTOS OF ALL LEGISLATORS
AND MUCH MORE!



All the info
you need to contact
state officials
and staff

PRICE LIST:

NUMBER OF COPIES	COST PER COPY	S&H: TOTAL FOR ORDER
1-10	\$6.00	\$3.00
11-25	\$5.50	\$5.00
26-50	\$5.00	\$7.00
51-99	\$4.75	\$8.00
100-249	\$4.50	\$15.00
250+	\$3.50	\$20.00

To figure sales tax, add 8% to the total, and then add shipping and handling.

☒ Yes, I want to order today

Number of copies: _____ @ \$ _____ each. Total: \$ _____

ADD Sales tax 8% (of cost of books): \$ _____

Shipping and handling: \$ _____

Total order: \$ _____

Ship to:

Name _____

Business/Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Bill to:

Name _____

Business/Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Daytime Phone _____

E-mail _____

Tax exempt? FEIN _____

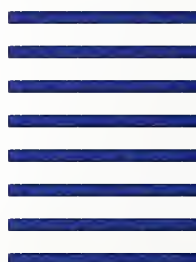
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

☐ Payment enclosed with check payable to University of Illinois

To order by credit card call the *Illinois Issues* office at (217) 206-6084.



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 1901 SPRINGFIELD, IL

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

Illinois Issues

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD

PO Box 19243

Springfield, IL 62794-9980



35TH ANNIVERSARY

Illinois Issues

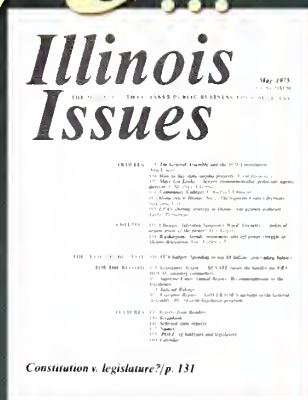
Illinois' public policy magazine
for 35 years

from 1975...

"The General Assembly
and the 1970
Constitution"

"Home rule in Illinois"

"1976 budget:
Spending to top \$8 billion,
zero ending balance"



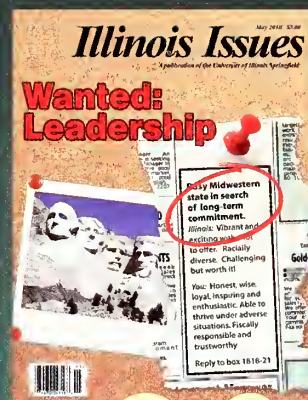
"Wanted: Leadership"

"Illinoisans who have led"

"Empty desks"

"On Taxation"

"Q&A with Stanley Ikenberry"



to 2010...

Throughout the years, *Illinois Issues* has remained
an award-winning magazine with a mission –
to provide fresh, provocative analysis of public policy in Illinois,
specifically focusing on state government and politics.

Engage in public policy discourse
in Illinois by subscribing

Association, Corporation and Government subscription partnerships available
as well as individual subscriptions.

Contact *Illinois Issues* at 217-206-6094 or <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>



Did you know? *Illinois Issues* is NOW
available at these bookstores statewide!

• Barnes & Noble • Borders • Follett • Anderson's Bookshops

Available now!

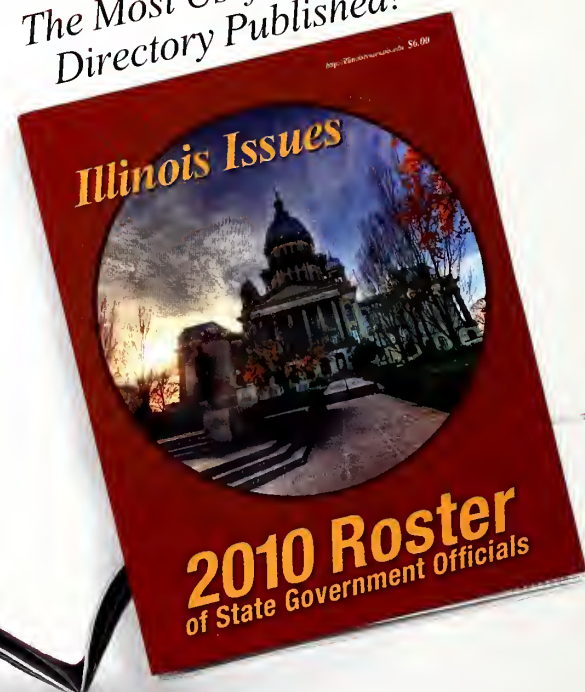
Illinois Issues

2010 Roster of State Government Officials

**ADDRESSES • PHONE NUMBERS • FAX NUMBERS
E-MAIL ADDRESSES • WEB SITE ADDRESSES
PLUS, PHOTOS OF ALL LEGISLATORS, AND MUCH MORE!**

In its 26th year of existence, this 8-1/2 x 11 slick magazine-style *Roster of State Government Officials* fits neatly into your desk drawer or filing cabinet. Completely updated for 2010, it includes listings for the governor and all other statewide constitutional officers, as well as major executive agencies and their directors. You'll find all Illinois legislators and their district addresses, phone numbers, fax numbers, e-mail addresses, and Web sites. Also includes the Illinois Supreme Court, the Illinois congressional delegation, and media/reporters who cover state government. *Plus*, hundreds of key staff members who work with these officials.

*The Most Useful Illinois
Directory Published!*



2010 Roster of State Government Officials

To order:

Call 217/206-6084

E-mail illinoisissues@uis.edu

Online <http://cspl.uis.edu/centerpublications>

**Illinois Issues subscribers automatically get a FREE copy of the Roster.*

PRICE LIST:

NUMBER OF COPIES	COST PER COPY	S&H: TOTAL FOR ORDER
1-10	\$6.00	\$3.00
11-25	\$5.50	\$5.00
26-50	\$5.00	\$7.00
51-99	\$4.75	\$8.00
100-249	\$4.50	\$15.00
250+	\$3.50	\$20.00

To figure sales tax, add 8 % to the total, and then add shipping and handling.